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Interview

With Quebec finance minister Jacques Parizeau

If René Lévesque represents in the popular mind the soul of the Parti Québécois government in Quebec, his finance minister Jacques Parizeau is its brain. Lévesque has given to the party's patron saint the job of devising an economic charter to guide the building of a sober and quiet Quebec. Parizeau is recognizable to television audiences with his jet black hair and moustache and ever-present cigarette. He was born in Montreal in 1930 of well-to-do parents. He has a doctorate from the London School of Economics and was once economic adviser to Liberal and Union Nationale governments before becoming a separatist. Parizeau's immediate concern is selling the idea of some form of economic union between an independent Quebec and the rest of Canada. In a recent interview with *Maclean's* Ottawa Correspondent Brian Urquhart, he was self-assured to the point of arrogance. Tempered by a well-nurtured sense of humor, he quipped aside critics of his fiery oratorical and occasionally off-the-cuff style about the possibility of it all.

Maclean's: From your union to an *Association canadienne* to a *Confédération* to a *Confédération*—these are the projects of Ontario and the Province of Quebec. Where does this leave you?

Parizeau: I think they're reacting to a rather extraordinary climax by a Canadian magazine and a Gallup poll which suggest that what there is a fairly big consensus or even possibly a small majority of English Canadians that already feel an economic association should take place. Now compare this to the large part in the number of French Canadians that agree with the idea of independence if it is linked with economic association. In other words, you have a certain number of Quebecers who are in favor of independence who are in favor of independence with or without economic association. But this number is not as large as the number of English Canadians who are in favor of independence. Now when you have all of these figures in front of you and you're an English speaking political leader, you would say no to economic association obviously. This is why you progress a number of French speaking Quebecers due to follow the path to independence and secondly you're coming from English speaking opinion that economic association should take place. In this sense I think that it's perfectly understandable, the reaction of Mr. Davis and the Western provinces.

Maclean's: You mean a lot of bargaining remains.

Parizeau: Oh yes, of course, not in terms of bargaining position but in terms of trying to influence public opinion that is going on in a discussion with which they don't agree. And it's perfectly understandable.



English Canadians are much more a country than some people are willing to recognize

that a political leader at times should say. Well, public opinion is going in a direction that I don't agree with. Now we'll have to see in the next few months whether public opinion will flow the same way or whether some political leaders have succeeded in saying it into other channels.

Maclean's: How'd the Ontario, for instance, have to decide whether a solid union or association with a sovereign Quebec or go with the West which has daily interest in economic association with an independent Quebec?

Parizeau: No, I think Ontario—and I feel

it will come—Ontario will have to try to keep both.

Maclean's: Oh, I'm sure it'll like to keep both.

Parizeau: Oh, it will go—I wouldn't say any length, but it will go very far to keep both. Both markets because it is obvious that the Quebec market is very important to Ontario. But the Western market is also very important to Ontario. And as that time I think Ontario has to keep both as its markets. They'll have to find a formula.

Maclean's: Are they all sure to come to a point where they'll have to decide between one or the other?

Parizeau: Well, don't sell short the imagination of people who are faced at last with a tough problem. They might come out with a rather surprising solution. See, the point is that in terms of market and economic development Ontario hasn't had for a long time to give specific leadership at the state that, by and large, it could find through Ontario proper channels to maintain in Canada or set up economic proposals or economic policies that were very much in line with what Ontario thought was required. This time it's different. A great deal of what's going to happen will depend on how the Ontario government is to Ontario government is not under the pressure on the federal government, but the Ontario government is a government for that it is in its own best interest. And I think that's going to change the rules of the political game in Canada, a great deal in the next few years. Ontario will increasingly come on the federal government. The federal government might be caught at one point in a very emotional fight. I think a political fight with the Quebec government, a political fight of an emotional character rather. Ontario will have to put down on emotions at some point because Ontario has a great deal to lose with any breaking of a Canadian market. I think we're going to see a very national development in Ontario for some time. They'll be the point of that kind of opinion which I agree Mr. Davis at the present time must try to swing public opinion both in English Canada and French Canada according to what he feels. That's understandable. But he's going to have a tough fight to try to change the way public opinion on both sides seems to be flowing with respect to economic association. At one point he'll be caught in that dilemma.

Maclean's: Whether to keep fighting or to compromise honestly?

Parizeau: That's right. And I think excep-

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minism is the only way to minimize the Canadian market so it has crossed itself now. And there's such an immense interest in this in Ontario.

Maclean's: Yes, but not in the West.

Parizeau: Yes, I agree. The people stated that I don't have any interest in being living in Saskatchewan or British Columbia. I'll see no major advantage in common market with Quebec. I've never been talking about the West. I've always been talking about the Ontario file. I'm talking about an economic association of all the parts of Canada.

Maclean's: Let me assume that English Canada will stay together if Quebec remains. What sort of economic association do you see or not?

Parizeau: The ideal one, I think would be one that would be built slowly as problems come about and are solved on the original basis of a common union and, right at the onset, an agreement about freight rates. In other words, to start with, we maintain for all practical purposes, the economic union that exists now and maintain some of the agreements that rule our freight rate structure in Canada. I'm thinking particularly in terms of protecting the Maritime provision. If we can do that that would be the sort of economic association is one where we will build on this to problems arise one by one. The last thing I think we should go into is to try to negotiate in six months a very complex sort of document trying to cover everything.

Maclean's: You're not talking about a monetary union are you?

Parizeau: I'd be ready to discuss it. I don't think it's very probable because it implies a great deal of credibility on the part of the governments over the economic and other major rules with respect to the fiscal and monetary policies. I mean there's a problem of credibility here.

Maclean's: Is it desirable though?

Parizeau: I think it would probably be useful with the oil situation. After all, within Quebec Canada is an oil exporting country and Quebec is an oil importing country. And with a sort of uncertainty that is with respect to oil prices, common currency could bring a lot of problems that would have been the case before the oil crisis started at the end of '73. I think that's one of the reasons why we've put quite some emphasis on monetary union before '73 and since '73 far less. And I believe there's this additional dimension that the rates of inflation have been so different even within the European Common Market that the continuous with respect to monetary and fiscal policies that we would have to build into the agreement would be so tight that you probably both parties would say, "Oh hell, that's too complicated." So I think it's not very probable but I'm ready to discuss it. I have no objections.

Maclean's: A major problem, though, is that you would lose a lot of the very things

that you would be making and that would be sovereignty in a major sense if you had a monetary union.

Parizeau: No not really with respect to monetary policy itself. The sort of sovereignty with respect to monetary policy that Canada has with respect to the United States is already very small and we'll have a fraction of something that is small. So we're not relinquishing very much in any case. A monetary union would still provide us from having a fraction of the very small autonomy that Canada has with respect to the United States already.

Maclean's: I would have thought that it would have been very hard to persuade you



Economic association is certain, because to not have it would, simply, be stupid

full sovereignty in the area of monetary policy is tough.

Parizeau: Well, that is what I was saying with respect to foreign exchange. There's no doubt at all that freedom with respect to foreign exchange is a considerable advantage in our days. And we wouldn't be relinquishing that without asking a fair price. In addition, there's no doubt about that. But I was talking of monetary policy in terms of interest rates—the expansion of the money supply and that sort of thing.

Maclean's: Supposing Canada does not stay together after Quebec declares independence, then you wouldn't have a policy

entirely to have any kind of economic association with, would you?

Parizeau: I think English Canadians are more of a country than some people say anyway. I've always been interested over the last 15 years to see how strong are the political crises we're known. In every major crisis, when the chips were down, when Quebec had taken some more or sometimes major advantage, with the help of some provinces with the respect to the federal government, when the situation became dangerous, the English-speaking provinces would stick together. And it was admirable and I'm not overrating. I thought it was simply the normal reaction of people who realize that they are a country.

Maclean's: But you don't think that essential commonities would evaporate once a major part of Canada secedes?

Parizeau: No. I think you're been different from the Americans for too long. And Canada is not a new country. It's about the same age as Italy, but we don't realize it. A number of countries we consider old have existed for not such a long time. Unification of Germany is almost contemporary with the founding of Canada. I think that's actually speaking we've got all kinds of writing perspectives in Canada. We were born with a number of other nation states in the middle of the 19th century. And you to assume that all of this goes by the board strategy, English Canadians. I don't think so. What Canada is going through is something that we've known in Europe through that last century. That is that linguistic minorities and to become autonomous and independent. But the fact that the Czechs decided to become independent from Austria didn't mean that Austria collapsed. The Austrians were set up independent countries and what was left of Austria kept together and separate from Germany.

Maclean's: One suggestion that has been made is that of a free trade association something which English Canada might well go for. But that wouldn't help you very much because your products wouldn't have tariff protection in English Canada. Your textiles, for instance, would have to compete with goods from Taiwan which could come in tariff-free.

Parizeau: Now well, careful not necessarily. In paragraph across the textile and the clothing industries are important to Quebec much more than they are in Ontario. This doesn't mean that Ontario products represent nothing at all. The shift of, for instance, the clothing industry to Ontario has been quite noticeable for the last few years. It's been developing around the Toronto market quite a bit and the fight between the federal government and industrialists over the tariff will go on. So don't assume necessarily that because Western people would like to have cheap clothing from Taiwan, they'd necessarily have that goal.

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Maclean's: No, they might go at a far cheaper price than they're going to now. They might remain the tariff.

Parsons: They might and they might not. You see the main consequence of a free trade zone at the problem of control.

Maclean's: You remember the Ottawa river?

Parsons: Yes. That's right. We've got to share ponds of entry along the Canadian-American border. How on earth are you going to patrol movements of goods that are shipped through Quebec because the tariff in Quebec would be low but higher in Canada? A tariff is there or four thousand items. So if you have a free trade zone it's assumed that maybe a thousand items would be lower for Quebec than that of Canada and another thousand would be higher. How on earth are you going to patrol across of customs area all over the country.

Maclean's: Well, have you or have you longer discussed having your own army?

Parsons: Well, with respect to armies, you know we've never been impressed with the necessity of having a highly equipped army with a great deal of equipment. What we need is an army essentially is something that doesn't go on strike when the Montreal Police go on strike. The army we wish for. And you don't need the army in Montreal when the police go on strike, not destroyed and get planes and tanks. When you need is a few battalions of infantry. That's all. And the sort of army we've been carrying all along is that kind of an army. So it's not a very costly proposition.

Maclean's: It might help to keep up some employment too.

Parsons: I think it, because there are quite a few French Canadians in the Canadian army at the present time and it's not at all certain that all of the world would stay in the Canadian army of Quebec because independent. I think, you know other people where we have already trained people available. What we need is essentially something for internal security. Obviously we won't call for the masses or the Canadian army, when the Montreal Police go on strike and there are 6,000 of them so we need at least a few battalions just to patrol St. Catherine Street.

Maclean's: One of your colleagues has of course instead of an economic union with the rest of Canada—an economic union with the United States—are Canada on one side, that I don't think is an ideal, that I don't think it is. The problem is that it would take years. You've got to have a sort of phasing-in period and it can be very long—30 years, 40 years, 50 years—and the benefits of that system mean—you don't stop until you get a free trade zone, you don't stop until you have been reduced on both sides and what have you. Assuming that the United States would agree to that, which I'm not at all sure.

Maclean's: You'd rather build an what you've got?

Parsons: Sure, while the common union with Canada is there. And all sorts of commercial and industrial interests live by it. What I suspect, however is that in any case over the next years, there won't be many tariffs left between the United States and Canada and Quebec. In other words in North America we won't have much tariff protection left in any case.

Maclean's: How is going to be tough for Quebec if we all have free trade with the United States eventually? Won't it be a tough transition period for Quebec because a lot of the Quebec industries is so highly protected as in Ontario?



Ontario will have to pipe down on its emotions. It has a great deal to lose

Parsons: You know it's difficult for Quebec and I think it would have forced any government of Quebec: separate or not to address itself to the modernization of the industry we've got here. The main task the first task we have is one of modernization, modernization, modernization is a number of cases and the acquisition of capital in North America, particularly in the large machine the Chicago markets and so on. If we can put some emphasis on the control of inflation and loss on protection. That job would have started years ago. The trouble is that for the last 15 or 16 years governments in Quebec have been dragging their feet. We cannot go on having as much inflation as in Ontario. You cannot go on that way

Whether we're separatist or not, whether there's an independent Quebec or not.

Maclean's: Can Quebec afford independence before that job of modernization is finished?

Parsons: Oh yes, in terms it is the sort of a risk or a gamble that has been looking over the last 30 or 40 years. We're going to be responsible to ourselves now. Quebec has become independent in constant count on anybody else doing the job. I suspect that if historically we try to find a reason why to remain—Quebec governments have told us the job they should have done a lot that responsibilities were nowhere.

Maclean's: Would you rethink your whole position on independence if you knew English Canada were going to say that it was some consequence? Or would you be willing to accept a drop in standard of living in order to achieve independence?

Parsons: No. I don't think I'd even react to such an assumption or hypothesis. No matter how many politicians tell me "No, we don't want an economic union." I say "Well what about Massey Ferguson, what about Stelco, what about General Electric, what about Westinghouse? What about all of these companies for whom we have done well that a Quebec market is important?" I simply can't answer that question because I've always been convinced that—irrespective of the political statements we hear here and there—there have been no period here we will proceed simply—as will probably be imposed by circumstance—by the forces of the market or of business. It would be in other words, shaped not to do that I realize that people can be very emotional. But people do like jobs on both sides of the border.

Maclean's: Okay. Some extremists in English Canada are making the proposition that if Quebec then decide to leave the present arrangement that its return English Canada should demand two things: the return of English and a corridor along the St. Lawrence something along the lines of the canal zone through Panama. Do you think either of those things a reasonable demand?

Parsons: [Laughs.] No. Let me put it this way. While there's nothing in the Canadian Constitution that prevents a province from seceding, it's made on the subject. The Constitution however is very specific with respect to provincial borders. You cannot change them without consent of the legislatures—the provincial legislatures—on both sides. And the original reason it's in one of the amendments of 1871 I think. So that in that sense, as long as we're independent we're a province. And boundaries cannot be changed without our agreement. But we've never accepted the sort of demands from groups of French Canadians that if we become independent we should try to get back Labrador.

Maclean's: But you're not about to give up English as a trade for independence?

Parsons: How can we why should we?



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Quebeckers let Lévesque dupe them once. Will they let him do it again?

Column by Peter C. Newman



Claude Morin's secretary, a splendid creature with hair flowing far from like a prayer shawl and he who has promised the constituency of well-made words, showed me through the door of his ministerial office, with the introduction "Monsieur Morin," and PAUL Newman

We both dissolved into laughter, reflecting our common Hollywood heritage and I found hard to fault of this dagger-sentimental as a threat to my country. Yet as Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs, Morin is in charge of taking Quebec out of Confederation and it would take the oversight of this man's considerable consciousness to witness the 9's determination. We talked for most of an hour but he failed to sweeten hispanics of modernism my way.

On the contrary, it seemed to me that Canada's break up, if it comes, will be based on a cruel heart and that that shared and charming politeness will be in chief to himself. It was, after all, the same Claude Morin who devised the strategy by which his party tucked its way into power in the first place, by promising to place its social plan ahead of the drive to independence which has since become the 9's sole preoccupation (François Morin's Jacques Parizeau turned the 9's social policy promises in his first budget, when he declared that no major reforms would be undertaken, "because the need for independence must be paved with sound financing.")

In our conversation, Morin indicated that he intends to utilize similar sleight of hand in the referendum referendum. By claiming that the plebiscite will easily involve no opinion in favor of or against but the chance to enjoy a virtually undisturbed economic situation with English Canada plus the glories of independence, he is in a way of victory. It's a great tactic, but it's also a piece of deliberate deceit. As last Uniquist's article starting on page 28 documents "economic sovereignty" is politically impractical and fiscally impossible. The policy has already been rejected by every important political leader outside Quebec—a conclusion that bodes Morin not at all since he regards any criticism of his objective as "slandering."

Except for his resolve on the association issue, Morin's desires, like that of René Lévesque, is a pervasiveness of subjugation—guardians in which words serve mostly in process to be magnified in tone, gestures and declarations. But the main reason: The 200-year existence of being a

conquered people is suddenly being washed away and no long-suffering child within each Quebecer is being invited to come out and be filled with love and wonder. "Our more toward political self-determination is about being unquenchable," Morin proclaims, "because it's cultural and sociological—a civilization thing. Our feelings are involved out, but they're

Quebec's National Assembly. There they usually lay down the political jobs of Liberal front benches who, the day I was there looked from the visitors' gallery like an untidy group of municipal dolls that in one less heartbeat to check such far-run-down business. There was a kind of moist desperation in Opposition Leader Gérard Lévesque's question "Is there a way to disagree with his government without being thought of as a failed Quebecer?"

The reply was conciliatory, but it's true that the Parti Québécois has appropriated so much on its of federalist desires for independence. They demand Pierre Trudeau's demonstrations on behalf of national unity in attacks on the natural order of the universe. At the same time, most Quebecers' only remaining contact with the federal government is through the workings of the post office. (A prospect that should fill every federalist with unyielding panic.)

This July 1 is a confusing moment in time for those of us who can passionately about this large legal of man. We're being asked for nearly two decades just what it was Quebec wanted. Now we know and most of us feel in confusion as the de-baucher who stumbled into a coal mine disaster.

At Morin's we've always supported the ideals of national unity, but this doesn't imply that a national unity can now be reduced to the two words "liberty and justice." Quebec independence is a simple statement that can be dismissed by the outcome of one election or referendum. Instead, it seems to me that politicians on both sides of the issue should concentrate more on the causes and less on the effects of separation. In the process of working Confederation we may finally discover the true nature of the Canadian identity and decide that the really important fact is not who we are, but that we are. On the way to reaching that state of grace, English-Canadian should never sacrifice defense of the status quo for preservation of the country.

The same is true for French Canadians in cultural survival, and their best chance is through a firm alliance with the larger power of the Canadian nation. There's no other way to ensure that a highly individualistic nation of six or seven million people can stay afloat in a continental sea of more than 200 million others. To believe anything else is to ignore the very greatness of Canada that we are and always will remain greater than the sum of our parts.



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Letters

Professor Verney proposes, Senator Forsey disposes—with a vengeance

Professor Douglas Verney's *Confederation Overlaid* (Septemher) (Unpublished) We're At Third Choice (May 86) embodies questionable assumptions, bad history,



Forsey's old ideas don't improve with age

false analogies, and a set of constitutional proposals that are completely impracticable. He says that "massive Quebec governments have revealed that their people must have equality—or independence." Which Quebec governments? He never says. He says that what French Canadians "are crying for, what they must be allowed to have, is a return to the double majority principle that prevailed during the decade-long before Confederation. At that time, Canada East and Canada West each had equal representation in the joint

legislature. We should consider a return to this system." Which French Canadians are asking for that? The present Quebec government? The opposition? The *Provinciale* (Canadian members of the House of Commons)? "A return to the system that prevailed during the decade just before Confederation?" It would be no "return" for the Atlantic provinces of the West, which never had anything to do with it.

The pre-Confederation Province of Canada did indeed have a legislature with equal representation for Canada East (Quebec) and Canada West (Ontario). But it was equal representation for each section, not for anglophones and francophones. Canada West had a francophone minority of only 25 or 35 (2.8% in 1861), but Canada East had an anglophone minority of 24%.

"The double majority principle" required that a subject must have a majority from each section, not a majority from each linguistic group. And this "principle" never "prevailed." It was simply funded MacDonald's pet idea for solving the problems created by the equal representation of the two sections and Canada West's demand for representation by population. This chapter about the "double majority" is pure fairy tale.

These further points about the constitutional system of the Province of Canada are worth noting. First, though Canada West was the more populous of the two sections, Canada East was a good deal closer to numerical equality with Canada West than Quebec (or even the whole francophone population) is to numerical equality with the nine provinces (or the whole anglophone population). Second, the fractious broke down. By 1864, stable

government had become impossible. "Deadlock was the father of Confederation." Third, the system created favouritism and later resentments between the two sections, not loyalty (francophones), the other overwhelmingly anglophone. And that is the system to which Professor Verney says we should return!

In fact, of course, what he proposes is something rather different. The task of "Verney" is clearly to overturn the pill for Quebec. He does not propose a single legislature, with equal representation for Quebec and the nine provinces. On the contrary, he would have nine provincial legislatures, a single "State" legislature for the rest, a Quebec "state" legislature for Quebec, and a "federal" or "confederal" legislature with equal representation for the whole francophone population (over the whole country) and the whole anglophone population. One final feature of Verney's "unity plebiscite" calls for comment. The members of the multilateral legislature "would have to be elected by two equal electoral colleges, not composed of francophones throughout Canada and the other countries of anglophones." He would divide a "francophone" as an "anglophone," and on what basis? And how would the "electoral colleges" be chosen? By proportional representation, or government by province, or "vote by state"? By proportional representation, single transferable vote, or first past the post?

A professor's province does indeed fit only for that distant land "where Alfred the Great river runs. Through evergreen mistletoe to mist. Down to a mistle to sea." EUGENE FORSEY, THE MOUNTAIN, OTTAWA

to his otherwise excellent article on the French Language Charter. *Devoir* (May 86), Graham Fraser quotes Dr. Camille Laurin as saying that he isn't offended by the charge that the Bill One is ethnocentric: a mere all opinions are ethnocentric. So far so good, but Fraser then gives the Webster's Dictionary definition of ethnocentrism as "having race as a central interest, characterized by or based on the attitude that one's own group is superior." According to Fraser that should be of some concern to English Quebecers.

I would like to point out that the French Dictionary Larousse defines ethnocentrism as "the tendency of an individual to evaluate his group, his country, his nationality." As Dr. Laurin's use of the word "ethnocentrism" was during a speech given in French, it is clear the minister was referring to the word as defined by Larousse instead of Webster, and that his remark was not an implication.

MICHAEL MANDREK, PRISON SECRETARY TO THE MINISTER OF STATE FOR CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT, MONTREAL

North of Eden

As a resident of the Northwest Territories I am dismayed by the efforts of well-intentioned politicians to stymie development in the North (*New Times* Saturday, May 31). In many cases people from these so-called "support" groups have never seen the North. They have no idea of the rich resources here and they tend to view the communities of the Western Arctic and the Mackenzie Valley as an idyllic paradise where native people live in harmony with nature, content to follow the lifestyle of their ancestors.

There is definitely not the case. The native people, like the people of the south, want and enjoy conveniences such as houses, central heating, electricity etc. They also want jobs. Take the example of my hometown, the village of Fort Serpion, where nearly half the work force is unemployed and the 1,000 residents are predominantly native. The prospects of wage employment are very poor. Three or four years ago the Fort Serpion mine was drilled. Development prospects were good. Three people worked on roads, construction programs and bridges. Now this activity has ground to a halt. Government operations and a few support services cannot hope to employ the many people looking for work. Without periodic construction the future of Fort Serpion will become stark and more depopulation direct and indirect will follow. An initiative will die. Alcoholism, which is already a problem in the community, will probably increase as more people give up their search for work. I doubt if Mr. Justice Thomas Berger's suggestion of a return to the land could be successful since it is a difficult lifestyle with only marginal returns. People want to make their own decisions about the future; they want the option of joining a wage economy or going

back to hunting and trapping or a combination of both. A pipeline will offer jobs. It will also give northern towns a chance to develop to a point where it is able to sustain far jobs with southern-based businesses. To survive, the people of Fort Serpion need a concrete option. Without a pipeline, there is no option.

ROBERT MARSH, PRESIDENT TIGHTEN ARCTIC TIGHTEN ARCTIC

Seniors talks have no chance of success

I recently think you should have kept your tongue when you talked about seniors (May 31) and not having seen the film I am convinced that only the peculiar

could find it funny. I refuse to believe that any normal human being could be amused by the constant stream of blood and gore. I strongly doubt if old persons who sit off their own backs in order to beg for a living believe they are funny. I think *And Now For Something Completely Different*. I loved *Monty Python And The Holy Grail* but I found much to admire in *Monty Python*. Despite some excellent comedy, good direction and some genuinely funny scenes, I don't consider it a "photographic poem" with the "poeticism of an old's dream." It is glorified gore with the perversity of a sadist's nightmare.

JOHN D. MARSHALL, OTTAWA



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Preview

For all those who would like to fly this summer, start sprouting wings

If God had intended us to fly, he wouldn't have invented the Canadian Air Traffic Control Association. Those wonderful folks who canceled the vacation plans and business trips of thousands of Canadians last summer will very possibly be doing a repeat this year—for the same reason: A fatal air traffic controllers' strike. In late June the three-page panel, hotly supported by the federal government to defuse last summer's explosive situation, will report. It is expected to recommend that French be allowed as an alternative to Eng-



lish for visual flying at Montreal airports. This, in turn, will set off the anglo-heavy CATCA membership, which is now in contract negotiations with Ottawa, and in position to strike anyway. It means that there be no immediate expansion of the use of French as a language of flight. CATCA would likely be supported by the Canadian Air Line Pilots' Association. A strike would have one obvious winner: it would play nicely into the hands of René Lévesque.

Our friend, the brick

Consider, for a moment, the brick. It is good for throwing through windows, attached to threatening notes, it is good for building pseudo-protestant bookcases, it is good for filling the spaces between the mortar. And now, it's good to talk to The Pet Rock craze (which ended when holed owners flushed them down the toilet, creating the problem of blind,

alcohol-retaining rocks roaming through the sewage system) may soon be replaced by the Pet Brick phenomenon. A kid named Al Ziegler of Dallas, Texas, is marketing what he calls "greeting bricks" with names, titles or messages on them—including one for solitary drinkers called, appropriately, a "swizzle brick."

The once and future teacher

When it first opened, five years ago, Grease, an affectionate musical satire of the Fifties, played in a disreputable theatre on New York's lower east side. Then, as Fifteen Nostalgia took over, it moved up to Broadway to become a long-running



Jordan Jeff and Newton-John something old, something new

success. And soon, the movie. Olivia Newton-John as the Good Girl ("Look at me, I'm Sandra Dee/Lowly web virgin-ity"), John Travolta from TV's *Beaver* as Jack, Koster, and, in an inspired piece of casting, Eve Arden as the high school principal. Why *grease*? Because if ever there was an everybody's ideal high-school teacher, it was Our Miss Brooks, and it's nice to see her promoted.

Need a drink? Take a powder

When the kids are home with no whine going, clearing a cussative term or Pimp. David. Old Man. It says has an (in)ner shi rpe open a package or two of Rock. And stir it into a pitcher of icy water, and voilà! But what happens when Dad brings to going home, and they're all extra shy, and the liquor cabinet is bare? Simple. Man just heats open a package of Sure Shot, adds water and stir. Sure Shot: the solution some for Japanese-invented powdered booze. Wine and beer is ideal. As he is recommended on the American hotel coast. And if it catches on, the distributor has plans to go nationwide. Now that's a dry martini.



Canada

Local boy makes good

One after another, the Commonwealth leaders rise to plot through prepared texts on the world economic scene. Canada's Pierre Trudeau was growing impatient. As the floor went to the sixth speaker of the morning, Trinidad and Tobago, he interrupted. "A lot of this has been very interesting but I could have said the speeches back home." So with 10 minutes left in the morning session, Trudeau excused himself for lunch at his suite at the Surrey.

Trudeau's patience this morning during the week-long Commonwealth conference in London reflected his belief that his government needs time when its leaders talk informally—and secretly. In fact, real progress comes when the most contentious issues—Uganda and the Commonwealth Games—were dealt with not during the formal conference sessions in the Manor House of Lancaster House, but during a sabbatical weekend in Scotland, and at a second meeting in London, both times the politicians' advisers were excluded.

The fact that there was relatively little bombast aside in the June conference, and indeed, substantial consensus, was particularly gratifying to Trudeau, whose courage-of-age as a warman has been strikingly evident within the Commonspeak world forum. After a rocky start at his first meeting in London in 1969—scene of his famous business slides and less-than-convincing remarks on an expatriate press—Trudeau has gone on to make significant contributions. At Singapore in 1971, he negotiated a compromise over the explosive issue of British arms sales to South Africa, which threatened to break up the meeting. But perhaps the most important Trudeau touch was introduced in Ottawa in 1973: the informal weekend because part of the agenda—and the closed meetings without advisers became part of a new, looser and more productive Commonwealth conference format.

For Trudeau, the London summit was a substantial success on three major fronts. ■ He had realized that Mr. Amin's ruthless and bloody dictatorship in Uganda be condemned and it was.

■ He had insisted that the Commonwealth Games will take place in Edmonton next summer, though the Athens nation, who have threatened a boycott will have the last word.

■ And Trudeau received in private talks a personal assurance from India's new Prime Minister, Morarji Deasai, that his government committed to peaceful development of nuclear technology and that India does not plan further test explosions.



Trudeau did not dominate the conference, attended by 33 countries representing a quarter of the earth's people. On view in Uganda and southern Africa, says one Canadian official, "We wanted to avoid the expression of the white man pointing the finger from outside." For instance, while some Africans were arguing that Amin should not be mentioned in Ottawa (Nigeria) and that consumers might provide him to further apartheid (Kenya), it was the persistence of leading Third World figures, Michael Manley of Jamaica and Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia that earned the debate without naming Amin. The conference's strongest mood, June 15 dominated the "unusually dangerous" for the issue of life and the "massive violation of basic human rights in Uganda."

Trudeau with Callaghan and with Audebert: it's what you didn't see that counted.

Trudeau did lead off the debates on the world economy and on human rights and he was particularly pleased that the attack on Amin last October to the peaceful path for liberation rights in white dominated Rhodesia, Namibia and South Africa. However, some view traces of a double standard at a subsequent press conference, when Trudeau was asked about an appeal by Kaunda to end "exploitation and plunder of Namibian wealth." Granted specifically about Palau Bridge Nambai's operations in Namibia, but said his government had withdrawn Crown corporations from South Africa, but "in far as the private sector is concerned we are not interfer-

ing in any mining trade investment."

A revealing peek at the mysterious workings of the Commonwealth was provided during the negotiations over the 16-member Games. For domestic consumption, particularly in Western Canada, Trudeau desperately needed a solution to the black African boycott threat which is based on New Zealand's continuing sporting ties with racist South Africa. But New Zealand's fiery Prime Minister, Robert Muldoon, who came to power largely on pledges not to interfere with independent sports associations, was making his first Commonwealth appearance. Muldoon instantly reminded that Trudeau should spread "how come with his African friends" and recognize that New Zealand's sports policy was not much different from Canada's—that all federal funds go to refuse to turn that play against South Africans and Rhodesians.

But the night before the London blow off in Scotland, Trudeau turned up at a lovely party hosted by the New Zealanders, housed at the fabulous Grosvenor Hotel in Scotland—where the entire 300-acre estate was reserved exclusively for the Commonwealth. The Canadian and New Zealand prime ministers found themselves working together on an informal committee headed by the charismatic Michael Manley. And by the end of a ten-hour marathon back to London, the heads of government had insisted to second order by the Commonwealth Secretary-General, Guyana's Shridath (Sonny) Ramphal. They agreed to take "every practical step" to discourage competition with racist regimes—a phrase infinitely vague in its aim Muldoon to save face.

The spirit of Glasnost, one of easy informality, also infused the 90-minute talks that Trudeau held with Deasai, the remarkable 31-year-old leader who now rules the world's largest democracy. There was a substantive divergence in their approaches to global resources, with Trudeau's branding that underdeveloped nations can better share their riches when the economy is growing. Deasai arguing that the pursuit of Supreme through industrialization has become "a continuous almost unbearable burden" on the world.

That exchange reflected the profound gulf between the haves and the have-nots. In 10 countries with more than 100 million people, average annual incomes are less than \$300. Canada, in vivid contrast, is the wealthiest Commonwealth member, with a per capita income above \$4,000. But Trudeau's cultivated message in London drew Callaghan, who are living beyond their means in a world of shortages has been grown largely with indifference at home, where the debate over Quebec and the price of oil has set of greater concern. That indifference is intolerable in the poor countries where, as Deasai put it, "it is only a question of recovery, a question of survival."

There was similar intensity of feeling

aspects not reflected in Canada, on the key subject of black majority rule in southern Africa. Zambia's Kaunda cut to the heart of the issue, he asserted that unless there is a prompt transfer of power in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) and Namibia, there will be an "explosion" that will make the "French Revolution look like a picnic."

The conference, in a sense, recognized the inevitability of escalation in the tense struggle by liberation groups in southern Africa. But the commonwealth's negotiated settlement to remove the Ian Smith regime in Rhodesia, at the same time incorporating the radical plan of the frontline black African states condemning South Africa for its role in South.

For the conference host, Prime Minister James Callaghan, the relative harmony at Lancaster House was a sweet respite from domestic crises including the prospect of a fall election. As the wrap-up press conference, Callaghan could have been speaking for Trudeau and other Commonwealth leaders when he remarked "If all my problems were solved as successfully, I'd be a very happy man."

ROBERT LEWIS

ONTARIO

Three for the seesaw

Before the fractious Ontario conference had begun, not a few Progressive Conservatives had everything worked out. Premier William Davis, 47, making the most of strong leadership in a time of national crisis, would see a stunning provincial majority in the spring. Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau, riding exactly the same wave, would see a stunning federal majority in the fall. Opposition leader Joe Clark,

A resigned Lewis (below) and a significantly resigned Deasai: a combined prediction record of one win, three losses.



would be plentifully purged by whatever remainder of the federal Tory party a winter and Bill Davis, as one of the nation's last credible Conservatives, would possess a strong transfer of power in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) and Namibia, there will be an "explosion" that will make the "French Revolution look like a picnic."

Davis and Reg Skir Machine, the once-invincible party apparition that is so clearly put due for an overhaul, had firmly expected Ontario to reward good government with an absolute majority. Private party polls taken by Robert Fester consistently showed that all the Conservatives had to do was ask and they would receive at least 65 places in the 125-seat House. For 39 months, Davis and his government had lived with the uncertainty of a minority (at dramatic party standings were 32, 58, 33, Liberals 31) and they had grown weary of the game. The Liberals, under a stumbling psychomotor named Stuart Smith, had never looked more vulnerable. The opposition, New Democrats, under the strident but not strongly subdued Stephen Lewis, were still a long way from winning the hearts and minds of what is traditionally a cautious, conservative electorate. The economy in Quebec seemed to underlie the logic of a push for stability. In Ontario, through not as robust as Ontario would like, was less likely than many feared a might be lost in the year. So it was with understandable confidence that Davis embarked on his third state-



pays as leader of a party that has held uninterrupted power since 1945.

But after more than five weeks and \$20 million worth of campaigning, Genuwine declined to be stamped. They returned 48, 85, secured the Liberals into second place with 34 seats and rejected the New Democrats to third with 33. "Dawn was and is," growled former Tory premier John Roberts, in a second election-night summary. "She's lost and we're Lewis and lost." Indeed. Four days later, while members of the staff were openly, a cool and smiling Lewis, 39, announced he'd had enough and would step down as leader as soon as the party picked a successor. A full leadership convention seemed likely. While Lewis was stepping down in personal rather than official, the institution's dearth of children and the occupational-health field—De Smith was stepping up. Most observers had felt Smith would lead the Liberals into oblivion (due in the case of Lewis to clearly fewer down votes than he was able to), but on election night he was quick to exclaim: "Finally, I have not disappointed." He promptly began to plan a new, more pragmatic approach to the Tories.

Dawn, meanwhile, tried gallantly to make his disappointment. He flew off to Florida to consider his future and test his body and voice, both weary after 40,000 miles and almost as many speeches. A week later he had bounced all self-doubts, and declared he would stay on and would be assisted only as the Premier of Ontario. "Anyway," he laughed in an interview, "Maclean himself offered me a job."

Dawn's determination to stay in leader of a party that has always managed to reform previous one election, he early realized that one too late, hardly surprised any of the cynics in his house. Said Trevor David McKenough, whose third-degree leadership campaign has been ongoing since last month: "I can't imagine that there will be any pressure whatsoever for him to go." Confronted Attorney General Roy McWinnery, a Dawn critic and a man who is not without ambivalence. "Dawn is the best man to lead Ontario right now and that's all there is to it."

The war was less lucky. Although hawk-faced, nose-wetted Lewis admitted that there were very many of possible war leaders—"the only qualification is that the war leader be rounded and characterful," so the campaigners will have a terrible task—there were few obvious candidates. Among the few Hamilton friends in Dawn, Ottawa journalist Mike Cassidy, Toronto schoolteacher Roy Foulke Lewis, whose oratory and social conscience have brightened the Ontario political scene ever since he was first elected in 1963, will be sorely missed. Even Dawn, who often scolded but admires Lewis anyway, seemed a little sad. "I

Not a fit sight for God-fearing Winnipeg's eyes

She was obviously very lonely. Her husband clearly had a different idea. "No wife of mine is going to shop in this place like this," he declared, hastily pulling her away from the dress racks in a fashionable Winnipeg boutique. How is not, then, in his entourage. In a letter to the *Winnipeg Free Press*, Marisa Wilson commented bitterly: "After we all become blind about suburbanite themes in advertising and other things, what is it that we do for our child about things?"

The object of this prying war on the part of many conservative Winnipeggers, for whom caution is almost as precious as a black belt, is an up-market women's clothing store opened last December by 30-year-old psychologist Karen Molow. Borrowing a technique pioneered by New York designers, the shop, called Vamp, has set parts of the city's better by having its displays as instead of suburban and female bondage. At various times, Vamp has featured a mannequin lying face-down across a set, an empty bottle of pills and a dead telephone near a toilet, and a mannequin reclined on a laminated figure pinned to the wall by a dozen daggers, and a mannequin with a rifle, sunglasses and bullet belt, in what was considered to be a sexist statement about *Pretty Hard*. But for startled shoppers, the last line came when the



Molow with 'Pretty' mannequin on loan.

long-suffering mannequin appeared in a color coordinated outfit consisting of a satin corset, black garters, black cape and a black whip. Typical of subsequent, angry letters to the editor about Vamp was one written earlier this month by Winnipegger Flor Gurnea. "Maybe Vamp belongs in New York or Montreal, but I don't think Winnipeg is ready for it. At least I'm not."

But Mrs. Molow, delighted by the additional sales she is making because of all the publicity, is unimpressed. Says Vamp's confidential owner: "Winnipeg has always had clothes for the law-abiding and the blue-jackets but not enough for the in-between. I can afford to offend 500,000 people in Winnipeg, but I can't afford to bore them." **CONTINUED**

speak to Stephen the day after the election and he told me that he doesn't. You know, I understand the idea that it would be at least three or four years before he'd get another crack at it."

The refusal of Smith and the Liberals to disavow meadow, an effort that Genuwine has still not decided which of the two op-

position parties it profits. In 1978, 1975 and again this month the vote and Liberals ran neck-and-neck. "Of course that's good for us," Dawn checked. The Premier himself was partly convinced by the fact that he'd added almost four percentage points to the party's share of the popular vote (just under 80%) and that he'd gained six seats.



Smith and wife Paddy: how can a guy lose seats and popular vote, and still win?

Aside from the Liberals' strength, perhaps the biggest surprise of the election was the failure of the so-called "national unity" issue to catch fire. "I was surprised when a side," Dawn conceded from Florida. He had decided it to be a non-partisan issue, argued Genuwine that Lewis and Smith were not in a loyal to Canada but was, and then proceeded to try to make it his own anyway, suggesting that both Canada and Ontario needed his strength and experience for the difficult days ahead. Genuwine remained unmoved: "I think federally Trudeau would have increased with 47," Genuwine said. Perhaps. But that is a calculation the Prime Minister and his advisers will have to make on their own. **ROBERT MILLER**

TORONTO

No more Mr. Nice Guy

People laughed when Al Johnson, the premier's son from Ingersoll, Saskatchewan, was named president of the CMC in August, 1975. He was 38, a career civil servant who had risen gradually through the ranks to secretary of the Treasury Board and then deputy minister of health and welfare. A prong of bureaucratic virtue he hardly knew one end of a microphone from another. Always aloof, Al Johnson has turned proper with the release earlier this month of a *Teachman For The CMC*, a 90-page battle plan for leading the "American electronic type" of Canadian culture and revitalizing Canada's ailing aerospace. With extraordinary candor, Johnson blazes his trail: "The CMC for long has been slow and cautious and even to be as 'lighting, aggressive, bold, fast, and boldly nationalistic as I am capable of being.' He will need to be, for while Johnson was beating his breast and sounding the alarm, two Americans—Jesse Saur and Judy LaMarsh—were also joining the battle for control of the aerospace. And home in the background was the Canada Radio-Television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) inquiry into regulation between Radio-Canada. Was over a CMC position made better?"

But if he feels shocked, Johnson doesn't show it. For one of the first times over, a CMC president has traveled the country, listening to complaints, even about, and responded with a comprehensive, urgent and specific program. A large, square man, Johnson talks intensely, even passionately, about his plan for the CMC by the early 1980s. Johnson wants 80% Canadian content on private radio, a second network model on net, that will speak in alternative programming and be carried on cable without commercials, increased regional programming, a greater infusion of English and French standards on both language services, an introduction of radio and TV facilities in Toronto, an expanded radio network and a speeded up replacement of private stills with CMC stations, a large pool of in-



Lalor (above) and Johnson: tips to the media, and other interrelated parties.

dependent producers, writers, directors and actors and an advisory council on a broadcast corporation committed to make public broadcasting more publicly responsive.

How is he going to do it? What are the priorities—programming facilities or personnel itself? It's impossible to quantify all kinds of the bylines, even in this case is a massive infusion of money and that seems unlikely. The CMC has a current budget of \$487 million (including the 5% net increase Johnson talks so confidently

about in his *Teachman* passed grudgingly by the same Liberal government that called for the CRTC inquiry into the expenditure. And while Secretary of State John Roberts (the minister responsible for the CMC in parliament) is pleased with Johnson's proposals, he has some real fears about the costs of implementing such a far-reaching plan.

Programming is a prime concern: it costs \$1,300,000 to buy 26 hours of an American broadcast monthly and almost two million dollars to produce an equivalent Canadian one—but the real battle is over the future of the CMC. The proliferation of cable companies, each dependent on

chips American shows for advertising revenue, has permanently changed television viewing in the country. Canada is the most cabled nation in the world: about 50% of homes are serviced now and by 1993 it will be 75%. Cable is the intended vehicle for Johnson's TV-2, as it is for Janice Pennington's *Canada Now*. Johnson says he is not even considering changing to air time, and other programs not financially feasible on regular channels. Fifteen percent of gross national revenue would then be passed on to Canadian programming. It is a development Sarve dreams inevitable and one which Johnson violently opposes. Says Johnson: "Why in heaven's name are we seriously considering nothing else? Pay-TV is the only alternative. It's the only one so far as it's totally dependent on American time and material."

Even as the CBC was being reorganized, newsroomers in Ottawa on the verge of Pay-TV, John LaMarsh was coming out to shake the CBC. In his report *Of The Royal Canadian Mounted Police*, LaMarsh wrote: "The CBC is a national television network. It is not a national news organization." LaMarsh cited television "as the most sensitive of the U.S. system, and at worst, a national security threat" as the major cause of concern regarding the CBC. He also noted that the "violence in our society. A situation of large-scale racial and ethnic tensions, and a prolonged inquiry to re-examine the functioning of the federal broadcasting system and its replacement by a multi-channel national network. LaMarsh has concluded his mandate to look at our entire television system. He has not yet reported on his findings, but clearly the battle lines are drawn with Al Johnson at the head, gunning to try to hold on to his turf. He is willing to gamble everything on a Royal Commission into broadcasting in Canada. It could finally be the end of the CBC.

—SARAH MURPHY

OTTAWA

Less tall in the saddle

Whole changes of cover-up, cover-up, cover-up. Since Obama over-governed, it's all about to explain away the fact of what's happened on an illegal break-in in Montreal, on a Monday, surfaced in mid-month with information suggesting that the break-in was no isolated event. Ask Manning, a former New Orleans cop who came a year in 1993 with an expert in Marlowe's internal problems, dogman and crumbling body on the force, says the gal break-in and baggage have been "going on for years and years and years." His new statement to Marlowe's calls into question order and government claims that any break-in would be an isolated exception to the rule.

The factor started when it was revealed last year that the agent and officers from the Quebec and Montreal police had conducted an illegal break-in in 1972 into the offices of L'Agence de Presse Libre du Québec (APLQ) — a left-wing news agency suspected of terrorist connections. The agent had attempted to cover up its in-

Maclean's

The National Council Estimates to demand
An end to examinations by GCSEs and A-levels



4. reduction of C inputs to 1/3 of 1990 is
30% during a year 1, in short legend

volvement in the break-in, but it came in light during a trial of an unrelated case. Senator General Francis Fox told the House of Commons that when the government learned of the paper's involvement, it considered establishing a commission of inquiry. "The government received, however, repeated and unequivocal assurances from the group that the APOL incident was exceptional and isolated and that the objectives of the paper to its members clearly require that all of their actions take place within the law."

But Ramsey, who won a Mountain from 1956 to 1971, says that in his days, "most sewer detachments had 'technical and mechanical' with bagging equipment and expert lockpickers to combat break-ins. 'Major installations,' when Mounties broke into a home or office to install bagging equipment, had to be approved by a senior headmaster in Ottawa. Ramsey recalls one



Ramsay, as he appeared on the Maclean's cover (left), and Cohen where are you.

in the RCMP. He argues that the reason the Ministry refused to strongly oppose the demands for a public inquiry into organized crime following the CBC documentary *Crime Stories* earlier this month was that they feared exposing the scope of their illegal activity. The RCMP had no immediate comments on Ramsay's charges.

now pushing hard for a full public investigation of the auto affair and any related incidents. The government has refused, but Quebec has ordered its own probe into the incident, which Premier René Lévesque described as a "rather intolerant and illegal operation." This raised the unsettling possibility of a confrontation between Quebec and Ottawa over the case.

The charges of cover-up in Ottawa followed a series of new developments in the APG case, including:

• The constitutional challenge of the three senior police officers who pleaded guilty to failing to obtain a search warrant for the break-in, including Donald Gibbs, former head of the Metropolitan Police, was thrown out of court. The case was dismissed on the grounds that the search was conducted in the interest of the next day after an explosion of less than a month. Opposition critics were angry over the light treatment of the officers and suggested they were being awarded the starring quest. Lawyers for the three policemen argued that the search was necessary and was conducted in the interest of "national security" and was "intended to prevent another or apprehended October crisis."

• Solicitor General Foran read a statement to the Congress condemning the illegal break-in as "completely unacceptable" but stating that the break-in was "not a crime." He said, "as it is, it advances flowers." He added, "best heads on the

was informed of the break-in and the involvement of the Mounties four days after

It took place but failed to inform the government. Five queried Jean-Pierre Goyer, now Minister of Supply and Services, his role as general in 1972 when the break-in took place, as saying "ideologically" that he was never informed of ACJR involvement. The question remained why Goyer never asked the Mounties if they were involved after receiving a letter from ALU warning the ACJR of participating in the break-in. Commented one leader Ed Broadbent: "Either Goyer was fed to by the ACJR or he is lying."

Fox also quoted W. L. Haggitt, former commissioner of the state, as saying he could not remember whether Goyer had been briefed on the strip break-in and the Mountain's involvement. But, after Fox made his statement to the Commission, Haggitt refused comment. "You're asking me to say whether a manager's statement is true or not," he said. "I don't want to deal with that."

QJFREC

Candu simply won't do

The nuclear generating station at Pickering, 28 miles east of Toronto, opened against the Lake Ontario shoreline a bold affirmation of Ontario's determination to push ahead with nuclear energy development. In fact, the plant's 230 white-smoked employees oversee the four 540-megawatt nuclear reactors which can provide enough power to supply 36.4% of the province's total power needs. Says Robert Taylor, chairman of Ontario Hydro: "The only in Ontario, nuclear energy is the free option that has come sufficient to policy of electricity to the province. It is the only energy source during the 1980s and 1990s. It is the best money environmentally, economically and socially."

But Ontario's enthusiasm for nuclear power is by no means universally shared across the country, partly because of soaring costs, and Atomic Energy of Canada Ltd.'s \$1.3-billion Cansub reactor program



Research on climate change

the best of intentions, problems in home ownership and ownership. Now, the Canada program that perhaps its ascent, body blow of all the Hydro Quebec's grandiose plan to build a new dam in 20 to 30 months during the next 25 years has been quite killed by the provincial government, partly in response to demands by English-speaking politicians and partly in response to the growing opposition to an independent Quebec. In addition, some Quebec energy strategists fear that reliance on Canadian uranium and nuclear technology would make the province vulnerable to energy controls imposed by Ottawa for political reasons. As Quebec energy policy is to be released later this year, will construction be limited to damming rivers, deferring for at least a

decide the province's plans for atomic power. No nuclear development will be approved beyond possible completion of the Gratiyale site near Trois-Rivières, where a second reactor is under construction, and Quebec's will officially accept decisions will deny AEC, its biggest potential market outside of Ontario.

Throughout in Canada, the nuclear option is the running into problems. At one time, AECL had high hopes of constructing a reactor on Vancouver Island, a plan heartily endorsed by the Greater Nanaimo Chamber of Commerce. The program called for a 500 000-kilowatt power source employing an operating staff of 135 and creating some 300 new permanent jobs in the community. But pressure groups on the island eventually forced the plans to a standstill.

On the other side of the country, Atlanta



The Carson sinking: ice didn't do it, bungling may have

Eighteen miles off the Labrador coast, passengers aboard the Canadian National ferry *William Carson* were sipping coffee and reading magazines. On the bridge, the radio and binoculars were scanning the radar screen and quietly enjoying the 351-foot vessel's uneventful maiden voyage of the season on St. John's, Newfoundland, to Goose Bay via St. Anthony.

Then at 9:40 p.m., without warning, the voice of Captain Norman L. Hinks crackled over the ferry's public address system, ordering the 60 crew members and 26 passengers to abandon ship. The *William Carson* owed Canada's top-ranking ice-breakers, was sinking. Three hours later, with everyone aboard safely rescued, the ship lay low in the floor of the chilly North Atlantic.

Since the early June disaster, a number of theories have been advanced to explain the *Carson's* accident. Most have sought to put the blame in some way on icebergs that might have hit the ferry. There are two problems with these explanations, one of which is that there were no large icebergs around at the time, two that the *Carson* is one of Canada's oldest ice-breakers.

Now, Maclean's has learned from reliable sources of two more substantial theories about the sinking, both relating to the vessel's reef last December at CN Marine's drydock in St. John's.



Former captain of the *Carson*, Mike Tobin of North Sydney, Nova Scotia, who stepped the ship for 11 years after her 1954 christening, suggested that although federal government inspections are thorough, something was always overlooked in a reef. There may well have been, in Tobin's view, a structural weakness, which was not spotted, in the bow of the *Carson*. That weakness, in turn, might have been in the bow thrust, a mechanism under the front of a vessel which directs a propeller's thrust to either side enabling a ferry to dock unaided. But another source, close to the incident, used the more lively phrase of the sinking was a partially welded bow plate which was removed during the December reef. Tobin also agreed that this could have been the weakness that led to the sinking.

The source, who insisted his name not be used, said a 22-square-foot plate was removed from the bow area and was temporarily stuck back in place with a few spots of weld. It was then inadvertently painted over and missed during the inspection before launch. According to this source, Captain Robert Curtis, who was

in charge of the reef, confirmed that a 32-square-foot forward plate was taken off the *Carson* in drydock but he was unable to pinpoint its exact location.

Asked about the report, Roger Cameron, information officer with CN Marine in Montreal, said: "We cannot and will not get involved in speculation. There has even been speculation that the *William Carson* was sunk by a French submarine. There's no reason to believe that, either." CN has conducted its own inquiry but will not release its findings. A formal judicial inquiry will be held.

Had the *Carson* in fact struck anything at all, even as ice, it would have been enough to hole her, if none of its 200 passengers and crew would have felt the impact. But, said Hinks, "there was no noticeable jolt," adding that anything large enough to sink his ship would have sent shock waves from bow to stern. Said Captain Tobin: "She knocked me off my feet more than once when we hit heavy ice and there was hardly a mark on her. There's no way the ice or anything else punctured her something just opened to the sea and the *Carson* sank." **CHUCK KILLORNEY**

to governments are under pressure to buy Canada, but there is fear from uranium suppliers for such a development in the region. "North America is the only region, at least, ambivalent toward it. Meanwhile, France, England and the U.S. have gone more strongly than any other province against atomic energy. Premier Alex Campbell and his ministers in the last election wanted to opt out of the nuclear power program altogether and concentrate instead on developing renewable energy sources, such as wind and sun.

But it is the loss of the Quebec market that would be most serious for AECX. A spokesman for federal Energy Minister Alister Galt spoke out last week that it was not a complete surprise since his provincial counterpart, Guy Joncas, had opposed nuclear power well before he became a Parti Québécois minister. The spokesman added that a pullout by Quebec from the program would damage AECX's campaign. Quebec's decision not only denies AECX its biggest potential market outside Ontario, it means the Crown corporation will have still another embarrassing setback to add

to its list, a list which already contains such misadventures as accusations that payoffs were used to pressure foreign companies to do business with Canada, and the discovery of Canada's first nuclear reactor in a house explosion. Critics of Canada say its spread rate other areas of the world will lead inevitably to similar incidents elsewhere. The Quebec move will also leave AECX, with the normally hot La Prairie heavy water plant in Guelph, which was ordered in anticipation of a massive Quebec commitment to Canada. If AECX does not decide to abandon La Prairie voluntarily, the provincial government apparently is so intent on pursuing its freedom-from-Ontario approach that it will increase and demand that the federal corporation remove the installation. A provincial permit to operate the heavy water plant has not yet been issued because AECX has not delivered the required environmental study to the province and Quebec officials claim to have discovered that AECX's claims of one, only two miles from the 3,000 residents of Guelph is a concentration of guidelines drawn up by the federal Atomic Energy Control Board.

Energy Minister Joncas says he will dis-

miss the order, to take no heavy water hardware out of Quebec when the province officially announces its withdrawal of nuclear energy. Adds Joncas: "Such a plan includes essential dangers for the population equal or superior to those of a nuclear reactor. It is not my intention to permit the completion of a plant whose production would be exported, constitute an important share of energy and profit only the other provinces."

Nevertheless, it would take a lot to kill the Canadian nuclear program outright. In the first place, the bureaucracy in support of the system is well-entrenched in Ottawa, not just in AECX, but also in the nuclear department. Secondly, there is a kind of stubborn pride in Canada, a Canadian-developed reactor that is the country's most significant—albeit costly—technological achievement. And finally, there is serious concern over energy supply and the nuclear program, given Canada's technology and abundant stream resources, sets as a comforting backdrop in case the oil wells run dry before anyone is ready.

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If Quebec does go, let it not be with impunity

By Donald Creighton

For years, ever since the federal Liberals won power in 1963, England's Canada has put its nose, its money, its liberal conscience and its genuine goodwill into a prolonged attempt to conciliate Quebec, and now all its efforts have been decisively and contemptuously rejected by the very people they were designed to help. Very well, deferred period in Canadian history has come to an abrupt end. There is little point now in wishing for the return of René Lévesque's promised referendum. If Quebec's language bill is enacted in its present form, Quebec will legally, as well as morally, have declared its independence. And, if English Canadians wish to defend their country against division and possible ruin, they must devise very different policies, and develop a far more positive attitude to their own future.

For a long time now, the argument arose of a drastic change in English Canada's approach to the engine of Quebec has been evasive, but English Canada has been persistent in its refusal to recognize its reality, and even the recent victory of the party of the past six months have scarcely altered their traditional ways of thinking. Certainly the victory of the Parti Québécois in the Quebec provincial election of November 15, 1976, was a final of circumstances and circumstances through English-speaking Canada. The shock was profound and terrifying, but it has been largely quickly to decline, for several reasons. Separatism had not been a genuine issue in the election; the Parti Québécois had promised that if it would, an attempt to succeed as a provincial referendum had given it reality to do so, and a public opinion poll, held at the same time at the election, seemed to prove that only a small minority of Quebecers then favored secession. These facts did not quiet all English-Canadian fears, but they at least enabled English Canada to recover from its initial panic. At first Lévesque's victory had seemed to imply the inevitable dismemberment of Confederation, but only it began to appear, not as a uniquely dangerous threat but simply as a typical incident—though admittedly more shocking than most—in the history of Quebec's relations with the rest of Canada.

For 13 years, even when Maurice Duplessis had resigned power in 1944, Quebec has been playing the politics of blackmail. It has played this dangerous game with conspicuous success for 32 years, except on two occasions of intervention and intervention. The solid position of Lévesque from Quebec had long been the mainstay

of the federal Liberal party, and for an astounding total of 26 years out of the 35, the Liberals had been a power in Ottawa. There were several periods, moreover, during this long stretch of time when they ruled as a majority or with a slim majority, and thus they had been particularly vulnerable to pressure. French Canada, recruited both by the government of Quebec and the French-Canadian community in parliament, had taken advantage of the federal weakness and its own considerable position to promote separate and exclusive French-Canadian interests. It had sought



Creighton: How to resist The Big Stick

to carry out two main purposes: first, to guard the use of the French language and improve the status of French Canada throughout Canada; and second, to naturally and glorify the economy of Quebec.

The response of English Canada to the calculated pressure might easily have been predicted. English Canada acted as the unassuming victims of extortionation have always acted: it tried to meet the politics of blackmail with the politics of appeasement. This meant, in general, that the concept of French Canada as a distinct and separate community must always be allowed to prevail over the idea of Canada as a nation. Confederation was permitted to act together and identify themselves collectively only at times and in ways that French Canada considered as a favor.

The power groups of a Canadian Right, abandoned in 1946 as a result of French-Canadian pressure, was successfully reversed, after an interval of nearly 30 years, and only because that Union Jack had been removed from the design. The great French-Canadian in English Canada's prominent position

pre-emptive program, which Ottawa had attempted to establish after the Second World War, were all gradually abandoned. Quebec refused to accept federal leadership in creating oil refineries and in maintaining a national road code. All it wanted from Ottawa was money.

The failure of all attempts to transfer the interpretation of the Canadian Constitution from England to Canada is the supreme example of French Canada's successful domination of federal Canada from becoming a nation and to perpetuate its colonial status. Constitutionally Canada acted in an abject and humiliating position. Alone of all the nations, big and little, in the Western world, it was incapable of amending its own Constitution, while its own legislature, The Ministry of Justice of the Conservative David Fulton and the Liberal Guy Fauteux, together devised an amending formula that would have reserved the nation's right to constitutional self-determination. Quebec, instead of its own right to amend its own Charter of 1971, thus imposed on English-Canadian government and self-interest, even though it gave Quebec a permanent stronghold, not only on the amending process but also on major Canadian institutions.

Quebec's recorded in preserving Canada from achieving its constitutional independence, now it began to question and deny the basically political character of Confederation. The process began with the triumph of René Lévesque in 1968 and the beginning of the Quiet Revolution. Canada, the "quiet" revolutionaries announced was not primarily a political union of a number of different provinces, but a cultural compact between two ethnic communities, French Canadians on the one hand and English Canadians on the other. The essence of Canada was that as bilingualism and biculturalism, and therefore the permanent role of Canadian governments must be to make these essential elements explicit in both the law and conduct of the country.

In the politics of bilingualism, this was the ultimate form of the union. The traditional camp-party theory of Confederation implied drastic and perhaps revolutionary changes. Obviously there were only two main ways in which the aims of the "quiet revolutionaries" could be achieved. The first was to officially bilingualize, biculturalize and indeed Canada the second was an independent Quebec. For English Canada there was of course no real choice in all English Canadians had put a century of thought and effort into building a nation



Quebec has no right to any territory given it after 1867

self-interest alone, and they realized that if it political bilingualism could be prevented only by making major cultural concessions then major cultural concessions would have to be made. It was, in any body could have foreseen, and at everybody will certainly admit, an impossible task, but a gallant attempt was made to carry it out.

In 1963, Prime Minister Pearson established a Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism and empowered it to recommend ways in which Canadian Confederation could be developed "on the basis of an equal partnership of the two founding races." The wholehearted revision of the language clause, section 133, in the British North America Act, which the commission recommended in order to create the legal limits of bilingualism, failed for the simple reason that the Province of Quebec vetoed it. Despite this crushing disappointment, parliament tried to carry out as many of the commission's recommendations as it was constitutionally capable of doing. It passed the Official Languages Act which established federal bilingual districts wherever the majority official language was equal to, or more than, 10% of the population. It appointed a Commissioner of Official Languages and began an effort to ensure that bilingualism in the federal civil service. The English-speaking provinces, impressed by all this federal business, started to enlarge the place of French in their educational systems.

The results were certainly mixed and doubtful. Bilingualism in the federal civil service cost vast amounts of money, produced negligible results, and caused angry resentment among English-speaking bureaucrats. The offer of the Commissioner of Official Languages was soon crowded with a robust array of bilingual interpreters, and the commissioner (Kath Spence, who retired from the job July 31)

himself appeared to think that the most important public duty lay in showing and honoring English Canadians for their region of a language only as an educational minority would ever have occasion to see. The bilingual colleges had a tendency to remain only theoretically bilingual, and the French "total immersion" centers in the schools did little more than deepen the illiteracy in English with which pupils tried to enter the universities.

All the English Canadians accepted and endorsed in the hope that it would help to convince French Canadians that their national aims could be realized inside Confederation, and to persuade them to drop the idea of an independent Quebec. They knew, of course, that there were separatists who would reject the idea of a bilingual, bicultural nation, but it was not until 1968, when René Lévesque's Parti Québécois emerged as the dominant party, that a view of separatist separatism, that the aim of independence seemed to become a real political threat. In the two Quebec provincial elections of 1970 and 1973, the Parti Québécois gained a credible percentage of the popular vote, but failed to win more than a handful of seats in the National As-

sembly. Interestingly, Lévesque's victory in November, 1976, came with all the staggering shock of the unforeseen and the unexpected. For a startling moment—but for not much more than a moment—English-Canadian saw in Lévesque's victory the doom of Confederation. Very quickly they recovered from their first fright. In Canadian politics, they realized, there were no magic formulas, there were only endless repetitions of the same themes. The example of the Parti Québécois was simply one more extremely savage twist of French Canada's politics of blackmail. It could be reasonably even and overcome by one more supreme effort of the politics of appeasement. Almost at once everybody sat back and relaxed in the current but complacent attitudes of the 1960s. All the bigoted press, the state propaganda and the worn-out, confrontational, reactionaries were treated out again as if they sparkled with originality.

Some thought a few "changes" or "adjustments" would be enough to save Confederation. Others, including black president W. E. B. Dubois, thought the prospects were now the acknowledged grasp of Canada as public affairs—believed that in a century new Confederation was necessary. Increasingly, one had the sensation that one was watching the repetition of its old, and very familiar, third-time television program. In 1967, John Roberts, then premier of Ontario, held a splendid and extremely costly "Confederation of Tomorrow" conference in Toronto. Now, 10 years later, the president of York University has announced, to double with Premier Dufferin, approval, what amounts to another "Confederation of Tomorrow" conference. It is highly probable that not one of these three

Control of the Seaway must be ensured by a protective zone



The 'association' fallacy

Lévesque says Quebec can have it both ways. It can't

By Ian Urquhart



Beyond all the posturing and rhetoric, the charges and countercharges, the brinkmanship and game playing, the debate over the future of Confederation is narrowing down to a single, crucial issue: whether René Lévesque and his followers can convince Quebecers that separating would be followed by economic association with Canada. For, in public opinion polls clearly show, without the prospect of economic association between a sovereign Quebec and Canada, neither Quebecers support for the secessionist option is as high. But, with that prospect in sight, separation has many supporters, while they still sell a minority in the province the majority Lévesque is seeking for the still-to-be-decided referendum is widely reached in a provincial poll conducted in March, only 12% of the respondents favored separation, while 87% were opposed. But when independence was combined with economic association, the number in favor shot up to 32%, with 52% opposed.

Therefore, Lévesque must convince Quebecers that they can have their cake and eat it, too—they can have independence without economic loss. This is, at one and the same time, the major card and the Achilles' heel of his argument for independence.

Sensing this, spokesmen for the federalists have attempted to indicate the nature of economic association between a sovereign Quebec and Canada without Quebec's Prime Minister Jean Trudelle and up a recent interview: "Quebec is like

an adolescent who hasn't decided yet what course to choose, who wants to be independent but, my God, who would like to receive Father's money also." Secretary of State John Roberts says a different metaphor, understandably, would be in order. "Generally, when a teenager looks up, you don't have a job break account after all."

Ontario's argument against the likelihood of economic association between the two rival partners is based on the assumption that Canada-wide-Quebec would be emotionally opposed to and economically disadvantaged in such an arrangement. Quebec Finance Minister Jacques Parizeau responds: "No matter how many politicians tell you 'No we don't want an economic association', I say, 'What about Massey-Ferguson, what about Stelco, what about General Electric, what about Warrington?' What about all these companies, which have done well in the Quebec market, in response, 'No, thank you.' But the debate is not confined to Quebec alone."

In recent months, both sides have spent much of their time and energy trying to impress the English-speaking Quebecers: the Parti Québécois with the inevitability and desirability of association after independence, the federalists with its unlikelihood. Prime Minister Jean Trudelle gave the issue a strong statement to the Empire Club in Toronto: "It would be foolhardy for the governments of Quebec to believe that it could have both independence and

economic integration with the rest of Canada," he said. "Moreover, I would not be prepared to commit the governments of this province and the people whom we serve to that kind of understanding with any government."

Dave's speech was followed soon afterward by a counter-speech from the four western provinces regarding, in these languages, say, thought of economic association with a sovereign Quebec. A learned Lévesque brushed aside the double blue from Davis and the western provinces as "just for the cause politically" and as a "temptation to distort history even more." He referred to an earlier Gallup poll that showed 44.8% of English-speaking Canadians supporting economic links with a sovereign Quebec, while 39% did not.

However, that poll masks the different regional attitudes in English-speaking Canada which the poll reflects more keenly as a membership block. The Atlantic provinces, for example, might well favor economic association. They would otherwise be cut off from the rest of Canada, a sort of Bangladesh in North America. There would be emotional resistance against economic association, but the Atlantic provinces would not have much choice. Newfoundland premier Frank Moores notes: "We are the only region in Canada who haven't the influence to do much else but be indulgent."

But what western would economic association be to the West? A recent study shows that on balance the West has

more than \$200 million a year because of the general tariff structure processing, primarily manufacturers in Ontario and Quebec. Why would the West want to continue losing such sums under the emotional attachment to a state "from sea to sea" was featured?

Ontario is the market that Quebec is really seeking to preserve, and it is undoubtedly the interest of Ontario to try to preserve the Quebec market. But will a large proportion of their industrialized goods to each other although Quebec is far more dependent on the Ontario market than vice versa (see chart). But Ontario would be caught on a hook, looking east to Quebec and west to the Prairie provinces and British Columbia and wanting to preserve both markets. Because the West would probably oppose economic association with Quebec, Ontario would have to choose between the two, it could not have both. If it chose economic association with Quebec, it would be forsaking the West, which would then sit idly by and go alone. Confronted with this dilemma, Ontario would probably opt for the West on economic and commercial grounds. The West, after all, offers Ontario a secure supply of oil and gas as well as growing cattle. Quebec does not have as much to bargain with.

The prospect of Ontario's caught in a squeeze between Quebec and the West does not stop the argument, which is

moving ahead on the assumption that economic association will occur after separation. With a touch of bravado that has become an integral part of the Quebec government has already approved a senior economist to plan the details.

If economic association were to occur, what form would it take? As Parizeau describes it, Quebec would simply learn the political lesson known as Canada while remaining in an economic union with the other nine provinces. "There is a custom union," he says. "Let's keep it. Let's have two customs in the customs union that exists now. Let's have the customs union to it in and simply say there are two different governments."

However, the reality would be a good deal more complicated. Fourteen years are possible, but none of them is likely. • **Complete economic union.** This would involve maintaining virtually all existing economic links, including a common currency, and free flow of goods, labor and capital. Belgium and Luxembourg have a similar arrangement. It would stress little change in the economic status quo, provided the transition period was smooth. But even Parizeau admits this scenario is improbable. For one thing, it would mean relaxation of the Bank of Canada and a centralized monetary policy, a significant restriction on the sovereignty of a newly sovereign Quebec beyond the practical problem of

whose face is put on the currency (the Queen's Lévesque?), it would make it difficult for Quebec to keep capital from fleeing to Canada without Quebec.

• **Common market.** This arrangement, styled after the European Economic Community, would involve different currencies and monetary policies, a common union and the free movement of labor. Manufacturing activity would probably suffer little disruption, except in the transition period, but it would be much harder to coordinate agricultural policies, as the Europeans have found. A common market would also mean considerable macroeconomic Quebec's autonomy and would require an array of bureaucrats. (The European common market has a staff of 12,700 with a budget of \$1.5 billion.) Quebec would probably soon be faced with a proposal to elect a sort of parliament to work out the bureaucracy, in the European way, as well as planning. And that would look suspiciously similar to the present arrangement.

• **Customs union.** This is the primary goal of the Parti Québécois. Under a customs union, goods move freely between the participating countries and a common tariff is imposed on all goods imported from other countries. Quebec would have considerable sovereignty and keep its market. This is the have-your-cake-and-eat-it, again. But the West is not likely to agree to a one-way payment of tariff protection for goods manufactured in Quebec, such as textiles while

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opening the market closed to cheap imports. And Ontario, forced to choose between Quebec and the West, would opt for the West. Ontario loses almost as many manufacturing jobs to competition from Quebec as it gains by selling to Quebec.

Free trade association. The least kind of formal economic association, this one would involve the free movement of goods between Quebec and Canada-without-Quebec, but no common tariff. Thus Quebec's tariffs could still refer Canada-without-Quebec tariff-free but they would have to face competition from cheap imports from Asia. Canada-without-Quebec, with a small textile industry would have some resistance to having imported clothing. The free trade association would offer little protection for Quebec goods. It would also be difficult to police. If Quebec retained a high tariff on textiles but Canada-without-Quebec had no tariff, what would stop an enterprising entrepreneur along the Ottawa River from buying up a truckload of cheap, Tennessee shirts in Ontario, sewing on new labels saying "Made in Canada," and driving across the bridge to Quebec to sell them at a hefty profit?

There is a fifth scenario for Quebec, just as unlikely as the other four. That is economic association with the United States in place of Canada-without-Quebec. Indeed, Rodrique Tremblay, Minister of Industry and Commerce in the 1990 government, has written a book recommending this, and other politicians are careful not to dismiss it out of hand. Bernard Landry, Minister of Economic Development, told visiting English-speaking journalists last month that economic association with the

United States "is not domination"—would at least be better than the status quo in Quebec, which he likened to "colonization" by English-speaking Canada.

Tremblay's book, a 325-page polemic entitled *Independence and Quebec's U.S. Economic Market*, argues that Quebec would benefit by two billion dollars a year if it left Canada and linked up with the United States. Tremblay says Canadian exporters need to be heard in Ottawa, and he wants to ensure that they direct complaints of having economic restrictions on blocking free trade with the United States.

In fact, Quebec's industries, not Ottawa's, are provided the heaviest tariff protection in Canada, and a free-trade agreement with the United States would mean severe adjustment problems for such Quebec industries as textiles, according to the Economic Council of Canada. Tremblay holds out hope that the merits of the Montreal Expos would "facilitate access to the American market" by making Quebec known across the United States.

Tremblay quotes studies showing that Quebec would, indeed, gain economically in the long run from a free-trade arrangement with the United States. But he conveniently overlooks the fact that such studies assume Quebec would still be part of Canada and argue that the whole country would gain from an economic association with the United States. Presumably, Canada as a whole would have more bargaining power with the United States, and could gain, better terms.

Quebec could, of course, profit from an economic association with the United States on its own, but only by depressing

workers' wages to compete in U.S. markets. Such policies would cause an outflow of labor, not a happy prospect for Quebec.

There is also no guarantee that the United States would want to enter into a free-trade agreement with a sovereign Quebec, unless Canada-without-Quebec were included too. The Americans would not want to alienate Canada-without-Quebec, with its bigger market and energy resources.

The most likely scenario after separation is none of the above but, instead, the fracturing of Canada into several pieces. A sovereign Quebec would probably rejoin into a block, rather than seek formal economic association with any other country. "Small countries that gain independence tend to become highly protectionist," says Grant Roeder, chairman of the Ontario Economic Council. "I think that would become a strong tendency in an independent Quebec."

Canada-without-Quebec would be unlikely to stick together, although most Canadians seem to believe it would. (A civ poll done after the November 15 Quebec election showed 81% of the respondents believed Canada could survive without Quebec.) With Quebec's exit as a catalyst, the geographical division of the country into competing economic interests is each region would probably lead to the eventual breakup of the rest of the country, and, paradoxical absorption by the United States. Canada has always been a fragile coalition, resting the north-south pull of the continent with difficulty. Take away Quebec, and the pull, in all likelihood, would become irresistible. □

Percentage distribution of manufacturing production by each province

Province or territory	Destinations										
	Nfld	PEI	NB	NB	Que	Ont	Man	Sask	Alta	BC	Foreign
Nfld	22.1	—	1.0	1.5	9.8	0.9	x	x	x	x	64.6
PEI	5.1	37.0	19.7	10.4	6.8	5.0	x	x	x	x	9.7
NB	4.8	3.1	38.1	5.3	9.8	9.1	0.7	0.2	0.4	0.8	27.6
NB	2.7	1.8	7.5	31.8	9.8	9.9	0.3	0.2	0.4	0.4	35.1
Que	0.9	0.4	1.4	1.5	53.3	23.8	1.5	1.0	2.0	2.4	14.7
Ont	0.7	0.2	1.2	1.0	12.0	53.7	2.1	1.3	2.9	3.2	21.7
Man	0.2	0.1	1.1	0.5	5.9	12.9	62.2	6.1	6.7	3.6	10.2
Sask	0.2	0.1	1.7	0.6	4.6	6.5	7.6	53.7	6.7	4.5	11.6
Alta	0.1	—	0.1	0.1	7.4	3.3	2.7	6.2	66.4	13.1	7.7
BC	0.1	—	0.3	0.3	1.8	3.6	1.4	1.3	6.0	43.5	41.3

Source: Statistics Canada, 1974

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Sheet smell of excess

In Cannes, everybody's got an offer you can't refuse

By Robert Miller

Washing the hundred hopefuls hair-bare and lockers propped the busy terrace of the Carlton Hotel, you get the idea that maybe they ought to spell it "The Con (aka) Cannes" (thence Cannes Film Festival). It's not just that nearly everyone on the terrace is trying to attract someone else. Or that on the day after the next new world film-makers even a *weepee* producer is selflessly predatory to make the most hardened lady of the evening look like a timid housewife. No, it should be the Con Film Festival because essentially it's a convention of people dedicated to the idea, long close to Hollywood, that you can make something very big out of very little, and occasionally out of nothing at all—the basic basis for every confidence game ever played.

To be sure, most of the 40,000 visitors who flock to Cannes for the festival every May are either film buffs who want to watch movies, or celebrity collection, content to ogle the great stars as they struggle through coats of evening parade. (When Regina Larian emerged from a limousine and huddled her way into the Carlton lobby coat afternoon, the photographers went into such a frenzy that flashes broke out. The respectable hotel staff later had to step up blood from the wild floor.) Yet Cannes is movies, glitz, glamour, photography and genuine world-beats: it's the star-bouncing capital along the beach. But the real point of this two-week-long "Evening in Byzantium" as some have called it, is death. Deals for movies already made, yet to be made, never to be made. Distribution deals, foreign sales deals, finance deals, tax deals, co-production deals, the lifeblood of an industry that seems perpetually in need of transfusion.

During the festival, the Carlton terrace becomes a sort of Cannes-style splashdown house where the tradesmen all mixed Rum or Brandy or Martini and where the comedettes encouraged an offhand and gossamer, both of which are funny and transparent, like the movie business itself. Everyone is happy to find or find another. *Raiders*, another *Gay Rider*, another American *Grease* and thereby hit a jackpot big enough to pay for a yacht like the one skipper Robert Altman (*Nashville*, *Three Women*, etc.) and mean *Sally Sparsh*, Sherry Duvall and Lauren Hutton have snagged at anchor, 100 yards offshore. Very occasionally, someone does hit the

jackpot, which is why the wheeler-dealers keep coming back to Cannes and which is why, this year, there was such a large *Canis-de-femina*. Canada has sort of stacked up on major league status in the con's world, and if the signs along the Croisette (the palm-lined road separating the Mable route as from the strip of luxury hotels) don't know or put the barometer on the Carlton terrace too. There's money in Canada. A lot of money. Canadians pay more than \$325 million a year to see movies. Toronto is the movie town movie town in the world, a *Wanna* of *hoo-fie* dollars per capita. Canadian tax laws designed to

simulate a fledgling feature film industry offer overseas taxonomic incentives. So Canadians who want to do, have to come to Cannes.

"I really don't know," chuckled Bill Marshall, who knew perfectly well, "what I'm going to do with all this money we're going to make." It was approaching midnight in the cavernous, overly lit municipal casino and Marshall was lingering over a second bottle of Dom Perignon '85. He was entraining two substantial achievements: actually entangling in order and receive a plate of bacon and eggs in France, and, nearly as impressive, having made out of

the biggest splash in Cannes with one of the smallest movies. Marshall used to be top-kick in the office of Toronto Mayor David Crombie. But he's always been more interested in movies than in politics and a co-producer, with Hank Van der Kolk, of *Orange*, a made-in-Toronto feature that cost only \$167,000. In today's movie market that sort of budget would be little more than tip money for casual productions. All day didn't seem good news. Charles Chaplin, the important critic from the *Los Angeles Times*, had seen *Orange* (which had its world premiere in Cannes but which was not entered in competition, one more protest for new cinema in search of foreign sales and distribution arrangements) and had pronounced it one of the two or three best films he'd seen during his trip. Foreign distributors were turning to knock on the door of Marshall's vast corner suite in the Carlton. *Orange* had been awarded no fewer than seven other festivals, including the big ones in Berlin and Edinburgh. Even the people from Can-

ada, which was where Marshall and his associates had been gently floundering, were waiting to be seen. So it was little wonder that Marshall, rhapsodic in velvet dinner jacket with a silver star (it reads "Marshall") on the lapel, was in an expansive mood. "It's just wonderful," he grinned for perhaps the fifth time, as Shirley Winters (acted by and Terry Saville made another \$10,000 at his court) "It's just wonderful."

Considering the film's subject matter—drug queens, gay bars, a platoon love affair between a female impersonator and a school girl who turns nymphomaniac at the sight of a cab driver (they call drivers)—and the relative inexperience of its principals, *Orange* seemed an unlikely winner. But Marshall and his partners went to Cannes understanding an essential truth about the place: a lot of passion, actually presented, can leave over the two-month film struggling to keep up, if they're under-estimated. For days, Toronto lawyer Murray "Dusty" Cobl, a second-hand re-

viewer who is hired in the Orono area as an "Accessories" and who had taken on the task of selling the film, had been assigned on the terrace to service, buying drinks, slapping backs, ensuring critics wearing dishcloths and handing out bouquets.

Cobl, who's been going to Cannes for a decade and who finally had a legitimate reason to be there, proudly signed movie star rules in two words: like the last Toronto Star used to be in two words: like and he collected prizes at second in Toronto Maple Leaf sweater, *Big Jay* hats, Agnetha F-shirts. They handed out nylon wristbands emblazoned with the *Orange* logo and were deluged with some days of the weather made the jackets the most sought-after item along the Croisette. They purchased a front-page blurb for their film every day in *Seven International's* special Cannes editions. Toronto actress Hollis McKenna, who plays the school girl and who had parts in four other Canadian films shown at Cannes, was along for interviews. The cable line, Craig Russell, a *Kidnapper*, Ontario, native who works mostly on the U.S. gay club circuit, wasn't there. "He might pick a little crazy on us," explained Marshall. But Meyer Corbin and his wife, Shirley, closed off their European holiday by attending, thereby giving New York distributor Jerry Rappaport a chance to preview his job. "Is it Mayer or Meyer?" Not to tell. *Orange* was captured, more ink and caused more gossip than the rest of the Canadian films combined.

"You have to hand it to Dusty," said David Perlman, president of the Canadian Association of Motion Picture Producers, "he has really done a great job with the picture, and that's what Canadian movies need. Better promotion." Laughed Hollywood screenwriter Robert Kaufman (*On the American Style*, *Getting Straight*, *Freddie And The Daisy*): "You'd think that these guys had made *Gone With The Wind*."

While the barometer swelled on the Carlton terrace, the markets did their utmost to make a stir on the beach. Every five minutes (by William Cobl's word) to be Mr. Ron Meyer, king of the offshore photographers, would jump out of her dops and wangle for the paparazzi in the hope of getting some publicity for a film called *Dear*. But with everyone on the terrace except for the women and the beach-chair picnickers, going to sleep these days, the attendees had still competition from the waitresses and stewards who were in Cannes to worship the sun, not the stars. Indeed, with such hard-core tips on *Dear*, *Seven Girls* and *Caprice* in it, the "First X-rated weekender" showing every day books on the beach were far less enticing than they used to be. *Reverie*, even.

The big stars, of course, stayed out of sight as much as possible—showing the Carlton in favor of private villas or the se-



McLaren (top), Cobl (right) and the type of beach scene that has made Cannes famous (and a cliché): what will the boys like back home here? What have you got?

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The World

Whoever said 'crime does not pay' never hung out with a Hong Kong cop

In Hong Kong, until a few years ago young policemen arriving from Britain to start a new career used to be told a story about a bus. "You can jump on the bus you can run alongside it, or you can stand in the road and try to stop it," seasoned colleagues would say. Only rarely did they need to point out that anyone who stood in the road was liable to be run over.

The bus they talked about was corruption, the enduring scourge of the police force in this British colony known as the "City of Golden Possessiveness." As Canadians react angrily to suggestions that some former Hong Kong policemen who emigrated to Vancouver and Toronto had been able to finance the heroin trade with their backback money, the corruption drama is being played out in the courts of Hong Kong.

For the past few years there has been at least one trial a week just about every day. The courts have been open. A procession of policemen, Chinese and British, have been hauled onto the dock to answer charges that they were on the take. But it is the cases who get away who are the most talked about. The Independent Commission Against Corruption (ICAC)—formed three years ago following the flight from Hong Kong of former chief superintendent Peter Godber—and the Royal Hong Kong Police Force are seeking 75 former police officers who have taken refuge abroad. A total of 29 warrants have been issued on corruption charges and six for desertion. Of the missing men, 27 are believed to be in Taiwan. Canadian consular officials have "clearly identified" five of the best-known former policemen as holding illegal money-laundering visas in Canada (although they are not certain that all the men are still in Canada).

These are the so-called "Five Dragons"—a name which seems to have been coined recently by Alan Kwok-Sun, Lau Lik, Man Kong, Cho Bing-Lung and Chen Cheng-Yue. How was the first man on whom an extradition request was made (and refused recently by a Canadian court in Hong Kong's disgust). But the big fish is thought to be Lau Lik, one of the "Red Sea" smugglers that criminal or surprise-men as they were commonly called who formerly ran the police force in former years. He is known as the "3500 million man" because he reportedly left the colony with that amount in the local currency (about \$130 million Canadian).

Some of these actually brought to court, such as William Ernest (Gilly) Hui, have turned Queen's evidence and helped



Former chief Godber, manscaped, is incarcerated in a court hearing in Hong Kong in 1975 (left), a time to which Hui (above) does not appear to be similarly destined.

money-laundering sales of the rather they had access to Hui and he had made more than one million dollars (Canadian) and described his posting to the Wanchai vice district, unremarked by Robert Hui in the World Of Sixe Hong, as similar to being let into a bank vault with a suitcase.

The organized corruption described by Hui and others covered illegal gambling syndicates, the vice racket, narcotics, trying to sell from the mainland. But to a man they have denied that they ever took money from drugs. Someone, and the case most frequently mentioned is that of

Lau Lik, must have done, however. The trade in narcotics flourished until a year or two ago in the city's officially estimated 100,000 add-on persons who see each day to support their habit.

The sergeant-major's total take is unknown, but estimates by sources close to the ICAC speculate that it was around \$400 million from 1960-1974. How Kwong-Sun (known in his busy days as Detective-Sergeant Hui-Sun) headed the cat in Mon-Kok Doo-it, one of the centres of gambling and their rackets. Following a spate of raid more than three years ago, police officers estimated that the total gambling take of the district alone was four million dollars a month and that police payouts were 40%.

Hui-Sun is wanted under Section 30 of the Colony's anti-bribery ordinance, which requires a government servant to explain any wealth in excess of his official salary and emoluments. In Hui-Sun's case, this is said to be \$400,000. That is about half the sum the Hong Kong authorities will be chasing back from Godber, who was extradited from Britain and flew his four-year sentence to a few months. Another policeman is being sued for more than a million dollars. But these sums are minuscule compared with the millions spread out in Canada, Taiwan, Australia, Europe, South America and the United States by the "missing" cops.

In other ways, too, the breaking of the sergeant-major's rule has not been pure gain. When former police commissioner Charles Birch's ruling of the network in 1970 by creating more than 20 similar positions he disrupted a copy area present between the sergeant-major and the Trade

Wack: Does it seem to be stirring in this region, given coffee for swapping in his arm. If you accept the curriculum theory? Four years ago **Doyle Hayden**, a Canadian actor who accidentally scored Devisenon, wrote, starred in a film about a 19th-century Frenchman, and then died. After 40 years, the man's name is something called *Hayden*, about which there is nothing to say. She now appears headed for soft-core stardom in a French film called *Madame Claude*, directed by a one-liner, who did the musical *Les Choristes*, and who is now, I think, the man who made the movie that inspired the recently released *Unbroken*. Sylvia Kristel, also pseudonymous, is expected with Hayden, returning here on a two-page color spread and describing her life as a woman who has been a woman who causes a sort of pulse-thumping in the world. People, but not.

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Kennedy (top) and Carter the Fourth Edition had some to laugh at the book

me as a contributing editor bringing to her job a list of artists that include—creatively—our artistic non-obvious education magazine and a year on her college newspaper. She follows in the footsteps of some other White House-inspired greats: **Lynde Birck Johnson Beck**, **Julia Olson Eisenhower** (not to mention young David, the occasionalist sportschick) **Susan Ford**, and little **Caroline Kennedy**—remember “copy girl” at the New York Daily News? If they must “do something meaningful,” why don’t they try *prestige*?

With her convincing victory over Gayle Power in Miami, Anna-pa got eager and she sang a song to her husband, **Andie Bryson** has proven she's not just another pretty joke. The jokes however continue. Bryson's company's owner **Paul Williams** has just announced that he and his wife have owned off. So, Bryson's not because they have anything against the work. And



Tony Buckner, who has a part in the new

freely named legend, she was waiting in line in a restaurant in Northampton, Virginia, when the chance to meet director James Goldstone, scouting the local amusement park. The semi-unfolding a seven-year contract at Universal Studios—a history of a nation thereof!



Buckman: It only happens in the movies

Dome, oil and the Arctic: tales of a true believer

By Peter Brimelow

It's like watching a dog on the operating table barking the head of its surgeon. Jack Gallagher, chairman and chief executive of Denver Petroleum Ltd, has just finished presiding conscientiously on a Tory conference that Chicago or not has the oil and gas his company is totally committed to finding under the Boreas Sea. Both feet on the ground, Gallagher is a man who has been a John Cromeys (PC-Sir John's War), symbol and symptom of his political totemism, a big, brash man who deals with a certain air of disinterest to bring the Progressive Conservative energy crisis, still crying vaguely that "well, the decision has yet to be made" about the party's attitude in the Boreas Sea. Gallagher's former duties on the Mackenzie Valley pipeline and his desire to deliver were

Galagher believes the project is essential to his Bearfoot people's life blue eyes for behold of his hand heard, evidently considering it his last signature of a personal convert's close intimacy with tradition his concerns into those of his listeners, he tries to deliver the message in language as close to the native as he can. He chooses to use the words "pale" and "yellow" to refer to the color of the skin of the people of old Canada, not just a few thousand northern natives. Later, Crowder will shun all the alleged non-native people, and say that Berger has killed the Blackfeet. Valley roars: "the right word would be a pale people across the river." But he just looks past Gallagher, and instead attacks the environment. "We've got to get the [pale] people about Indians," he says. "I don't know if you're a pale person or not." Gallagher suggests conclusions that of old not pale people from the Arctic, if legally will not be stopped, in an arctic red, by sea.

Pollack not logic as proves Crouche, and he is soon gone. Onflicker looks around and cautions to himself when he sees that the 300 copies of his speech, complete with maps and diagrams, were not distributed to the audience as promised. He smiles, as he does at almost everything. Later in the afternoon, he can be seen strolling around the room with a stick in his arms, doing the job himself.

Ignored amid the thunderous brass banding that greeted the Dargatzis report, Canada's oil industry is winning a quiet cry. In the past 35 years, more than \$800 million has been spent searching for oil and gas in the Arctic. It was an act of almost irrational faith by the companies. Without a pipeline, they had no way of extracting any discoveries. Even the basic sense of profitability was a mystery, dependent



Gallagher where angels fear to tread

Queens' Northern Land Regulator, abruptly withdrawn seven years ago for a revmin who has been prosecuted from months to months ever since. But now poor roads have made him more desperate. And the company's financial situation is so dire that comfort is regarded as the last chance of an "elephant" — a major bid — but hope is fading. And without discounts, Canadian funds a future of either costly imports or shortages sharp enough to convince even the most optimistic that the company's oil fields just might come out of a gas pump.

All of which makes no impression on Gallagher and Denver Privilege. Without strong nerves, he could not have built the company from a one-man operation through "self" part-time to 27 subsidiaries years ago. And he has no intention of giving up his status. Now he has taken the corporate finance equivalent of a deep breath, borrowed to the hilt and asked \$230 million on his long-held, almost obsessive conviction that in the Arctic, where he first saw oil, he would find it.

these are "mega-Middle East"—one, two, maybe many of them."

If the gamble comes off, Galtagher will have created in Canada an internationally marketable company. He will have provided his adoptive backing firm at Canada's greatest entrepreneurs, and will enter the Old Hall of Fame provided over by the reptilian John D. Rockefeller. If it fails, Galtagher's life work could be endangered — to say nothing of his top executives' pension funds, which all have chosen to channel into Thorsack in breathtaking disregard of prudent trusteeship. And, incidentally, Canada's economic future will be thus much bleaker.

[illegible]

Gullagher was born in Wamego, and went directly into the oil industry after graduating in geology from the University of Kansas in 1950. He worked for a year as a geologist for Standard Oil Company of New Jersey. He worked in 12 communities, including the Middle East and Latin America, learning some Arabic and Spanish and becoming vice-president at an oil company in 1955. He says that the oil discovery stories to have been reached that he had become so independent to the company model. He joined Dome, which was being started with \$250,000 equity by \$12.5 million debt, as a group of 100 investors, and he was the first to buy shares from M.T.T. Petroleum International Ltd. by Clifford Mitchell of the New York investment bankers Loeb, Rhenolds & Co. (Dome's \$1 million shares are now widely traded. More than 60% are held in Canada and the United States. The company has the largest individual stockholder, and Dome's management group appears to have effective control although Loeb Rhenolds still holds a total of some 490,000. Dome recently qualified as a fully Canadian company under the Canadian Resource Access Act by the parcel sale to

Seattle Slew is not just another pretty face. And he's no pushover, either

Sports column by John Robertson

Man has been exploring horseracing ever since Adam. Beauty was not even in peeing a buck for those squares before a day while his owner sat on his London dais and pocketed all the gold. We all know what the movie *Nonstop* Peter did for Elizabeth Taylor—but whether the horse? If the son of a lady's horse, the horse's horse while he was giving Velvet his booster shots, she'd still be wearing jockey shorts and

parrot. Such Oscar-winning lines as "Eat your oats like a good little horsey," instead of reigning as the world's light-hairweight beauty queen. In 1973, when Seattle Slew was the Triple Crown, his owner, Penny Cheney, asked a cool six million dollars in syndication fees (as far as horse-related payoffs, but all the horse get was room and board and all he could handle: fillets only, however, Anita Bryant saw to that). From Triple Crown winner to professional blind date.

The latest romance shot along about now is a fast-cover named Seattle Slew, who was in such a hurry to be put out to stud that this month he became the first Triple Crown winner in the history of the race to lose a race. But owners Ken and Mackey Taylor, who bought Slew as a whelp at a yearling auction for \$17,500, after losing one on a Tiffany lamp, stubbornly refuse to allow him to retire to a life of richly decorated debauchery and lust. They want to keep racing for the good of the sport.

How would you like to be forced to run around circles on front of cheering thousands, as if some French guy sitting inside your back, begging you to work with a whip? You wouldn't. Well, there's no accounting for taste. What grapes are it that nobody thought of making the horse what he wanted to do.

Let's put the old horse on as the other foot for a moment. How would you like it if your boss called you in one day and said, "Jones, you've done such fine work around here, we want to protect this company's bloodline by putting you out to stud as the next good for the rest of your remaining years of life." One could suppose a profit picture of old horses is a little better, instead of the front of the line on all fans, whooping for money as his over-zealous wife scratches down and

"You've been working so hard lately, dear, you'll just have to speak to your boss about



sexual arrangements. Do you pay her? Or after? Or do you just leave in disgrace on the doorman? "Your stable or my stable?" "Well, if you want to gamble about it, forget it."

Anyway, now the truth can be told. Seattle Slew is an old friend of mine. I've seen several down to visit him in his stall after the Belmont, and there he was, alone and broke and determined to go into business for himself.

"I'll end up a dime in FBI like your boss off," he whined.

"What do you want a dime for?" I asked. "I want to call Al Englewood to exchange a few ideas. For one thing, maybe it's about time he put Bobby Orr out to stud. He's got two bad knees now, and if he slows over go it will be too late."

"Look," I said. "It's already been tried with Derek Sanderson and look what it did to him. He used to work every summer as a test driver for Seelye Postgraduate. He landed so many girls on Cape Cod, his legs used to move in and out with the tide. And like the tide, Derek worked fast and didn't leave a ring. Remember when he was in

going, another time? At which point he got into a swim and expired. And the family doctor will shake his head exotically and say, 'Circum case that. Took the minutes a full 48 hours to get the smile off his face.'"

This is the data that should have saved Seattle Slew. The bad luck. One day after another. "You know, I've often wondered how the honey set handles the si-

now. But he paid a price still. He can never packer again a swim and expires. And Seattle Slew's owner discussed one again. "It behooves me to suggest that you have raised the point entirely. Correct me if I'm wrong, but Orr and Sanderson and all those other swinging young hockey players must be just paid a way, didn't they?"

"Oh, I never thought of that. But, yeah, I guess they did at that."

"Well," whispered Slew, "Englewood's raising the greatest gold mine of all. Fan clubs are old hat. In home racing we prefer to call them bettors, but bettor server clubs. It's strictly business, you understand. The strategy is optional. But if any owners ever caught me going one way, they'd be back to me back to the kitchen to head up my own like everybody else."

"Okey, horse," I said. "So you have that plan for the Eagle which would guarantee lifetime employment for finding substitutes at prices we wouldn't believe. Come to think of it, someone heading may be the only way we'll ever reap Rums, after what happened at the world championship. Maybe that's how the Russians developed all those players, with just giving and

Olga a pack to grow an oak on Munich and phing her with first-buckle envelope remover. But one thing bothers me about off this. What do all Englewoods do for you?"

"Never thought you'd ask," he whined. "Look, you may never like a buck but after I get through running and those thick owners finally let me out more really wild ones, it want to be able to sock away a little something to take care of a cat any old age. I've been looking to a few of the studs in it is busy. And we decided that we need someone to organize us. First of all we want to pick the fillets ourselves. Blind dates are out. And we also want to pick the time."

"The way they do it now, it has all the romance of a dinner appointment. High noon on the O.K. Corral. We'd like some soft lights, a little Marmex, nachos like that. And then there's the money. They can keep the tails. We want bread. And then there's the matter of sharing the 70 right?"

"You... you... subliminal?" I gasped.

"For the case, you don't want just that damn."

It walked away, shaking wet away. By the way, if you call out at the office, you'll find a few more in the phone. It's because... well, you see... I think I'm a little better...



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Some like it hot

The incendiary boom: arson for fun and profit

The fire department in Saint John, New Brunswick, was running out of ideas. The problem: a flood was arson, and no matter what it did the fire section were carrying right on with their work. "We tried everything," laments Fire Chief Percy Clark. "We even had fire parades out at night, as well as the police. We have a special arson squad in plain clothes and unmarked cars, but the problem is still with us, so we're trying the reward program."

Saint John is far from alone in its approach. The extent of arson is grabbing headlines across the continent. A special law-enforcement task force set up in Philadelphia to fight for arson convictions (it's one of the toughest crimes to prove) says the setting "is fast emerging as the new big business in conventional crime." Mutual-aid insurance companies are going as far as contributing to offer rewards for information that would convict arsonists. The city of Seattle, plagued by an annual arson loss exceeding three million dollars, instituted an anti-arson reward program in 1975, and its president has been followed in recent weeks by Buffalo, New York, and—for the first time in Canada, by Saint John.

Says the larceny Chief Clark, "We've had such a rash of fires lately I'd have to look up my files to get a number. A lot of these fires are works of vandalism. They're in vacant lots not covered by insurance, so there's no fraud involved. They're often set by young people, aged 16 to 25, with no respect for property. But another problem is the economy of the country as a whole, and it's the same story from Newfoundland to British Columbia. There are people with a fair amount of insurance, and their business is in trouble."

Clark is now overworked that the only way to solve the problem is by gaining the cooperation of the public, so a reward system was set up on May 34 with a \$5,000 fund provided by the insurance companies. "Whenever we have a fire where we suspect arson, we'll advertise that there's a reward available for information leading to a conviction." Rewards are one part of the new campaign; there's also a new anti-arson committee coordinating the efforts of the police, fire department, fire marshals' office, the insurance companies and the building inspectors. It's looking at such things as regulations covering the demolition of buildings, trying to

eliminate any temptation for owners to use fire to guarantee a demolition permit.

From 1966 to 1975 there was an average of 2,399 incendiary (willfully set) fires in Canada, accounting for an average annual loss of \$22,655,595. But the loss for 1975 (the latest figures available) was \$58,306,753—more than double the average for the 10 years. And the number of arson fires identified in the last few years of that decade were significantly up from the average: 3,648 in 1974, 4,964 in 1975. As well, there were almost 40,000 fires with "undetermined causes" in 1975, and many authorities believe a good third of those can safely be attributed to arson.

It's not just that well-known failed businessmen with an eye on his fire insurance policy who are causing the current problem. Thirst-soaked kids with matches are a major part of it, too. Arson is a crime of many levels. There are the "lurchers," professionals who will set a fire for a price—fairly rare in Canada but available all the time. ("We haven't reached the point where you have fire-alike, but I have no doubt you could make a fortune if you really wanted to," says Tom Speckman, chief of fire investigation for the Ontario fire marshals.) Then there are the pyromaniacs, who can set a considerable problem these days in Montreal, firebugs who get a (notably sexual) thrill out of fires and the attention they attract. There are kids for revenge, or to

hide another crime slaughter, or to commit a domestic epidemic. But of more concern now, and especially in areas where the economy is not particularly strong, are fires for insurance—troublesome, often hard to prove, white-collar crimes. And finally, there's the phenomenon of fire vandalism, a major headache for fire fighting officials from coast to coast.

Young kids scramble through the debris of a building under demolition, looking for souvenirs. They set fire to a pile of rubble. The flames grow amazingly quickly, the children flee and within minutes the two-story building is slight from ground to rooftop. The fire, whipped by gusting winds, spreads—and keeps on spreading. For least upon heat it rages, and when it's finally tamed 150 humans have been destroyed and the bill for damage is more than five million dollars. A fireman's nightmare, and it happened. A fifth of the mining town of Cobalt in northern Ontario was wiped out on Victoria Day, May 18, by a fire blazed on children.

An 11-year-old fire marshal's assistant was charged to Cobalt, says there's no doubt somebody set the fire, and all evidence points to kids who were seen playing where it began. But he hasn't been able to identify them because over 450 people, three homes razed, have had to leave the area.

The Cobalt fire was amazingly bad—a matchbox fire that got completely out of hand. But just two weeks earlier, the same thing almost happened in Toronto. A fire that broke out during the early hours of May 9 at an Eaton's warehouse store com-

The Eaton's warehouse fire in Toronto (left), and the beginnings of the blaze in Cobalt (below): the works of man



Tom McLean is a National Post reporter writing by Alsacade Editor Robert Marshall with the assistance of Diana Dwyer in Toronto and Myron Smith in Montreal.

area under demolition grew quickly into a major headache that for several hours threatened the heart of the city. Blowing orders set fans to downtown office towers and police had to use helicopters to spot the new outbreaks and direct firefighters.

The Eaker's list is blarney on its own: "assaulted persons on the premises."

Like many fire chiefs, Vancouver's Armand Koning thinks the growing fire vandalism problem is a symptom of this hazy, hazy night. "We've got a new society and it's kind of new and anti-establishment. We had a couple who were involved in 18 different fires, mostly at schools. Kids used to visit little schools by breaking windows; now they burn them down," Koning says that's no question that arson is a crime that follows the economy. "When this town has had hard times it's seen a lot of businesses burn down. In the Depression days there was a major arson problem. But in those days kids did what they were told and there wasn't the vandalism you see today."

Edmonton's Chief Lewis Dill is just back at his desk from an international fire-lighten conference in Minneapolis, where arson was a major topic. "Arson is on the rise across the country. Even here, where the economy most is not treated as in other parts of the country the trend is up." Day too, says the problem is related to the general citizens' approach to law and order. "People don't have the concern they used to have. In my own town (in a high-priced area) was almost always associated with the criminal element. Now ordinary citizens try to reflect insurance by arson."

Edmonton has experienced 96 confirmed arson fires up to June this year, compared with 57 for the same period in 1978. Police charges have been filed so far, compared with 40 last year. Day echoes the numbers across Canada when he says one of the reasons for the higher figures is that "we're doing a better job of investigating them than we used to. A few years ago they even (city) people investigate every single fire now, often before they're even under control. Consequently we're identifying more arson fires." Meanwhile, he points the insurance companies could do more to help what's going on, but as well he thinks the insurance industry those days almost quit to arson. There's not enough control over the issuing of policies, or the payout."

If you wanted to design a fire-prone neighborhood, you'd look a long way for a better model than the St. Louis district on the eastern fringe of downtown Montreal. Narrow streets, tops of the century row housing, dozens upon dozens of abandoned homes, debris littering the roads and lawns and behind most of the houses a (readable), highly flammable wood shed. The day-down appearance attracts St. Louis as a transient community dominated by absentee landlords with no interest in improving the conditions.



The Colliette fire a couple of hours along (top) and Edmonton's Day (above): when these get caught the "buncher" get going.

St. Louis has always had fires, but last month was exceptional. While the headlines in Montreal's press suggested that the worst outbreak of arson in years, more than 100 families were put out of their homes by 28 fires in a period of just three weeks. (Lawrence Jean-Louis, head of Montreal's arson squad, suspects that a few of the fires could have been set because the owners failed to get a demolition permit. But generally the set fires can be broken down into a first causal by children, a third by pyromaniacs and a third from such motives as revenge, passion or anti-social trend.

John Gardiner, a city councillor associated with the Montreal Citizens Movement, the municipal opposition party, says a 16-year study of fires in St. Louis from 1961 to 1973 showed that a quarter were of

criminal or suspect origin, but they accounted for more than half the dollar loss. "One thing you have to expect is that if you light a match in St. Louis, you could do a hell of a lot more damage than if you light a match in the higher income Montreal district of Westmount or the Town of Mount Royal." Gardiner describes a situation that's common in demonstrating urban areas across North America. "People want to wreck their old homes, but community groups are standing against demolition, trying to get the good homes and should be rewarded. So the person abandons his house (burns it) and lets a demolition team possibly set fire to it to have the city tell him to demolish it."

Some provincial fire investigators (and those in the fire marshal or fire enforcement offices) are keen about attacking arson. They don't think it's helpful to point out that arson is occurring as an arsonist or that, given the present resources, it's almost an insurmountable task to prove. Says Nova Scotia's Fire Marshal Robert Kerr: "I get up there when we talk about arson. When we talk about it we get it, it's like leaving a red flag." There's no such reluctance on the part of fire chiefs, who seem to want to promote their communities' insurance abilities to investigate fires and make life tougher for fire setters. And the Ontario fire marshal's office, by far the largest in the country with 20 investigators, is proudly proud of its record. Tom Speckman, the chief of investigators, even points to rising bankruptcy figures in Ontario as a possible indicator of his men's success: for a falling business the traditional fire choice has been between an insurance fire or bankruptcy. "We like to think we're more efficient now in our investigations so that even when no prosecution result, our presence obviously discourages others from having a fire for gas."

There's a certain hesitancy to discuss arson at the Insurance Crime Prevention Bo-

oard, an organization established by the insurance industry back in 1929 to help the authorities in their investigation of fires. With arson getting out of hand, "it was a choice of assisting in the investigation or withdrawing from underwriting policies," says one general manager Patrick Collins. It now has 46 "special agents" in 17 centres across Canada, looking into fires and often processing evidence at arson trials. Collins says he'd like to see an article "written along the lines that in Canada an arsonist is facing a much tougher investigation system than in other countries." He points to our model Criminal Code with tougher penalties for fire setting (up to 14 years) than in parts of the United States, outlined recording of statistics by the Dominion Fire Marshal, backed up by the provincial fire marshals and coroners, and even improving investigative work (assisted, of course, by the RCMP agents).

"Arson seems to be a way of life. It's almost epidemic. There are people in areas who have no criminal records, who have never had a speeding ticket." That's B. E. May, an executive of the International Association of Arson Investigators based in Charlton, Massachusetts. A U.S. federal official remarks: "The thing [arson] is a billion-dollar business now. It got its impetus at the start of the recession but the reason is no longer the same reason. This is beginning to grow at the undergrowth of the economy, and in some Congress estimates that it will act." As in so many cases, the American experience in arson is more extreme than Canada's. What Congress could do, in fact, is follow Canada's lead and contribute to information on arson, increase the penalties for the crime, but even in this preferred position, and with fewer urban wastelands attracting the arsonist's match, Canadian authorities have a long way to go in their campaign to eliminate the menace. Many fire fighters complain extremely that the courts aren't helping them out. Says a chief from north-west Ontario, who asked not to be identified: "When you see firemen in action (at an arson fire) and you go to the court, putting your life on the line, you look back and you think 'could have died it does have an effect, it does make you think. In some cases the courts are doing well, they're handing out fairly stiff sentences. But in other cases they're too lenient. That's my opinion as a fire fighter putting my life on the line.' Saskatchewan Fire Commissioner Harvey Arvidt complains that the police are "spiral down, days, months preparing an arson case and it's thrown out by the courts in minutes." Somehow, through public education, better investigations, cost-effective court action, and, of course, the national fire fighters say, the current level of arson must be halted. Otherwise Halifax police chief George Grant: "The normal fires are bad enough. We've strained right to the limit. But when you start blowing up houses..."

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Ideas

A little short this week, buddy? Why don't we take it out in trade?

When the poor dumb lad in *Jock and The Beeswax* bartered a cow into riches, he was unwittingly following a tradition that's been around as long as man. In the days before money moved in as the predominant sort of exchange, men traded what he had or could do for what he needed or desired. In barter, in North America, the Indians and Europeans and early settlers did it. And just after the Second World War the Germans did it for a while, when the money economy was broken. Overall, though, North Americans have considered bartering primitive—a practice abandoned by societies as they grew more sophisticated. Yet now North American businesses—from small operations to multi-nationals—are doubling in a modern adaptation of the oldest way of doing business: barter. So what? Through barter houses where goods and services are exchanged—with the help of computers.

On an informal level, bartering has been ongoing, respectfully for some time and wholeheartedly for others. Third World nations with ill-in-currency reserves, are making major purchases by barter. Argentina has shipped wheat and frozen veal to Peru in exchange for rice and oranges, and Peru sends soy oil for most of its imports. In the United States, where big business bartering is still frowned upon in many circles, salesmen trying to win foreign customers feel, say, it's not as nice as being taken into a local barter exchange to land a sale they have no choice but to accept only on credit. And, as for the United States, bartering was carried out to the tune of \$10 billion last year by more than 70 barter houses.

Canada, for her part, is eye-catching in the past year or so for barter enthusiasts, two of them American subsidiaries, have established offices in Canada. The year-old Toronto branch of Anasoft Richards Ltd. of New York is part of a 20-year-old exchange that operates in large corporate groups of goods valued at millions of dollars annually. Barter Exchange Limited (BXL) is a Los Angeles-based company that has spread to 36 cities around the world. In the past few months it has opened two Canadian offices—one in Montreal and more Toronto—where with the help of a computer database, members can trade with 6,000 member firms as diverse as a children's camp, a chain of restaurants and janitorial services. Toronto Trade Exchange (TTE) is a new all-Canadian firm to its and has been in operation in Toronto since January. It should have



about 1,000 members by July of this year. Here's how the updated barter system works: Let's say you own a small printing house and want to remodel it but don't have the cash. So you join a barter house by paying a nominal membership fee and, as a member, your business is protected by the exchange. Other members pay for your printing services with barter "chips" or "credits" (BXL uses dollars or TTE uses dollars equal one dollar). You use these credits to pay other members, perhaps other designers and painters and office suppliers, to remodel your office. You all charge normal prices. And, in the manner of credit card companies, the barter house deducts 15% of your monthly sales for its intermediary fee. Still, the advantages are considerable: discounted overhead, an increased market of member companies, a new line of credit, the services of the exchange as a collection agency and—farther down the road—possibly a decrease in taxes.

Regulate the tax question and it's open to any businessman in Canada to get in on bartering. There is general agreement that capital gains tax must be paid. But the law doesn't require taxpayers to declare income earned through the exchange of goods and services. A spokesman for Revenue Canada says simply: "Where there is a profit, profit must be declared." Yet it is not clear whether or not a barter profit is a

trouble profit, and if so how much it is, and how it is to be calculated. Special tax laws are being devised for bartering in the United States and Revenue Canada is bound to follow suit eventually. Meanwhile, the comparison with a cashless exchange is to leave it off the books altogether. Many businessmen evade the subject, planning ahead for the shadow of the tax man. The barter houses advise members to treat an exchange as a cash sale. Says John Webb, president of the Canada Ltd. "You can't beat the government."

Though small-scale bartering between businesses has always taken place (for example, a small magazine might agree to exchange restaurant ads for free meals in the restaurant), the future of barter looks "slimy slimy," transactions in another matter. Many exchange members are making only tentative commitments. "It won't be a big thing, more of a fringe benefit to level down on overhead," says the publisher of a national monthly magazine, who says the statements of many businessmen. Yet doesn't a good chance the phone exchange will take hold here as it has in the United States. After all, it's hard to resist the combined pull of the tax and other benefits of bartering, plus its one big attraction: in the words of a new recruit, "If you don't have to pay cash, why pay cash?" Big words in a credit card world.

Mutual backscratcher

Kids know all about bartering. They want something their parents won't (or can't) give them, so they learn to swap. Hookers trade. Mobsters. Hockey cards for marbles. Arrow jumpsuits for an old Indian rub for beer. Alumni barter as seniors with the catcher's glove. Then, as they grow older, they learn all about money and free enterprise and for most of them that's the end of the simple barter.

Recently, however, as people find they can't earn enough money to pay for the goods and services they really need, some of them are reverting to that age-old system for doing cashless business. Two years ago retired people in Britain started organizing community clearinghouses where the unit of exchange is skills, not money. The concept is simple. A retiree nonetheless does some part-time sewing and is paid by the hour in stamps. She then uses these stamps to have the services of say a retired accountant, plumber, dentist, bricklayer or lawyer. That way both she and her trading partner exchange their skills for services they need but may not be able to afford, especially on a fixed income. The project called Link Opportunity, started out in a London suburb and has since spread to at least seven British towns.

Similar community-oriented barter schemes have also emerged in the United States, notably the Useful Services Exchange in Reston, Virginia, where more than 300 personal services are traded, from tutoring and accounting to plant-sitting and landscaping (even space). Goods (as opposed to services) are not bartered in these programs because goods involve complications such as sales tax and profit in which they're liable.

Though this swap shop idea hasn't caught on yet in Canada, Winnipeg lawyer I. A. Apter points out that although bartering between individuals takes place right across the country all the time—as both a money saver and a tax dodge. Here's how it works: A house painter has a friend who is a mechanic. Nothing requires the painter to charge his friend (and thus earn taxable income) for giving the outside of his house a new paint job. And nothing prevents the mechanic from giving his friend's car that much-needed overhaul at no charge. Friends do each other favors all the time and since no money is exchanged, no taxes must be paid (unless the value of exchanged services exceeds the tax-free limit in provinces that levy gift tax). The possibilities for the kind of creative trading are endless. Maybe, as late writers have discovered the handy barter, old-fashioned neighborliness and reciprocity is out with one stroke: the high cost of professional services and the take of the tax man.

OWN A BOTTLE.

Films

Some-where, o-ver the rain-bow/space-ships fly (sorry, Judy)

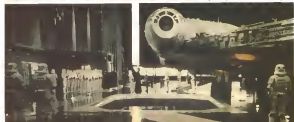
STAY WARE
Directed by George Lucas

Star Wars reimagines Hollywood looking both backward and forward at the same time. With its vision of galactic warfare as overripe, the film looks forward into a wonderful of technological possibility and invention. Planets explode, space stations glide and a computerized populace of robots did but present with pose. The interesting thing about the special effects here is the anachronistic design: a combination of their visionary design and the amount of money and time required to produce these amazing devices were close to identical, but on the screen they are presented with something close to off-handedness almost as if this were a costume glance at a perfectly normal world. Thus we come to accept the sight of a spaceship hurtling through interstellar space as easily as if we were watching a Volkswagen driving past our house. The

absence of ostentatious and self-aggrandizement in these visual wonders is a feat and very special effort all its own.

Still, for all the technical heaven of its futuristic inventions, the narrative itself deliberately harkens back to a simple, a simplicity a sweet darkness reflected from the movies of childhood. The elements of the story conflict are almost purely elemental. Star Wars is still mainly myth of equipment making a few stars. A plucky interstellar princess is the last possible hope of the rebel forces who want to defeat the wicked Empire by destroying its alien warship the Death Star. The destroyed machine upon her secret information in an amiable robot and then with help from some old acquaintance

Quintessence, competence, CPMO and Tom Quinlan Hero Mark Hamill (as Luke Skywalker) entering an Imperial checkpoint (below) and Imperial troops boarding a private starship (bottom) included.



characters and an ancient sage sets out to combat the forces of evil.

The director, George Lucas, clearly isn't a simpleton. He pushes these basic, simplistic events right past any technical boundaries of myth and legend into the core myth of individual humanity. Star Wars is the most elaborate fantasy of the modern-at-the-ought-billion-dreams movie ever made. We get feeling but obvious echoes of Flash Gordon, serials, knights of the Round Table epic, and the mythic wisdom of venerable, vaguely Oriental wise men.

But there is even more elaborate well-furnished here. Star Wars is its own myth, it also is updated but much less sophisticated attacks of *The Wizard Of Oz*. Dorothy is still there, in all her plucky princessness, now called Princess Leia (Carrie Fisher, at least as appearing as her mother, Debbie Reynolds), but still in trouble after she's left home through it's Orson rather than Kansas. Among her companions there is also a fellow maid of tin, a large furry and innocent beastie, some renegade Machines, a powerful ray gun, called Ben (the-Wing Kenobi) (Alec Guinness), the sacred scriptures, and for an instant a kind of mechanized land for the forces of good alike up to the end—to present itself for value—it seems to require an immense effort of the will for them not to burst into song.

A score would have helped. There is something charming about such well-fitted simple-mindedness, no matter how fast. This film of technological fantasy deserves to play forever. **DICK HODGSON**

Thrills! Chills! Spills!

HOLLYWOODERIES
Directed by James Goldstone
It seems that the ideas of partners of all major Hollywood studios have been put on

automatic pilot. The devil has passed out of the Regan and into *The Car*. *Slayer* refuses to be grounded, and every imaginable beat from a white shock to a white buffalo has been put through its cinematic paces. *Redwinger* is the latest entry in the recent but already venerable tradition of the Speed Effect in Motion. It has all the ingredients for success: a star-tracked cast (George Segal, Richard Widmark, Timothy Bottoms and Henry Fonda), director's dream, breathtaking photography and a hold-on to your-seat-folks plot with just the right hint of Annapolis.

The suspense comes on the screen of a dream, an All-American dream, an immense played with a wonderful lack of concern by Timothy Bottoms. His plane bombs on roller coaster at amusement parks around the States on its way to collect money from the corporations that own them. "It's not your average psycho party," wisely remarks George Segal, playing Segal in the guise of Harry Cadden, a semi-tacky but sincere engineer who unwittingly becomes the movie's hero. The Good Guys are led by Richard Widmark playing Widmark in the guise of Agent Hoyt of the FBI. In the best tradition of on-screen male bonding, Segal and Widmark develop a relationship of begrudging respect. "You're asking me to make a total commitment of time and money on the basis of a handshake," an exasperated Widmark accuses of Segal. Segal and Widmark down *The Good Guys*

who are always backed by the best hands, men. Despite the havoc wreaked by the contractors' bombs, the audience is spared the sight of mangled corpses. For this alone, *Redwinger* is to be commended. Even when the criminal goes on his own thing, down the camera focuses on George Segal trying to find a cigarette, a sunny haze he has spent the whole film trying to locate. The fun is good, clean and slightly sterile, just like the amusement parks where most of the action takes place. It is thus an ideal film to take children to.

But *Redwinger*'s main driving card, despite its aim, is remembered in its "realistic perspective." Special Effect. Originally used by producer Annapolis Long on *Earthquake*, Settemore works on the same principle as your neighbor's amplifier where the bass is set too high, the feedbacks where and the sound becomes your body itself. Initially, the effect coupled with a shot from inside a moving roller coaster car, is pleasantly startling. But two hours of variations on that theme dull the senses. Unfortunately, in a movie theme, you can't go too far and complain. **JOHN HANCOCK**

Last Tango in Quebec

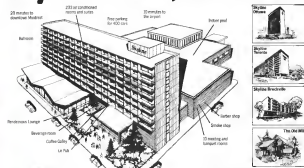
L'ANGE ET LA FEMME
Directed by Gilles Carlier
Last January, Gilles Carlier's most successful and original film maker had just seen his plans for the summer produce

two of the props closest to his heart for the past five years, a musical entitled *Carli* once again founder drastically. To Carlier the seasons called for action, and he turned immediately to what he had at hand: an isolated farmhouse north of Montreal, a 16 mm camera, Carlie Lacroix, his leading lady on screen and off, as the gossip says express it, and Louis Fery, a young young, thin young couple who had written some film scenes for him and could have a mean riddle. Carlier shot quickly, as usually in some people's hands. He shot his film *L'ange et la Femme* (The Angel And The Woman) and it is now playing throughout Quebec.

The film is an idiosyncratic story line, clothed with violence, humor and underlined with moody, atmospheric music. A young man (occasionally played by Fery's wife as both the Angel Gabriel and Feryman in a Torque, slender body of Carlie Lacroix, she is Quebec's version, a victim, martyr, saint, and implacable dancer all in one. After coming her to life, he seduces her in the classic cross-Canadian fantasy of two strangers locked in a snowed-out cabin. The film is a beautiful, brooding up for doing, as well as for first thinking by a gang of reviewers closely examining the kidnapers of Pierre Laporte.

Montreal, instead to *L'ange et la Femme* with outrage. The English and French newspapers of Montreal, under one another in discussing Carlier's content, masterful work as "masterful" and "down-

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11 **Revised last issue**
 Prepared with the old title
 Canadian Bookellers' Association

She's a good queen. In fact she's a great queen. But she's somebody else's

Column by Allan Fotheringham

receptors of well. Seated on a 1939 car in Regina (or was it Moose Jaw?) waiting for gigging hours for a glimpse of Celine Dion and the queen and those glancing, sweating RCMP horses an address in my mind my neck during the find to ship me to Mother should I go estray—or run away to become an apprentice runaway. Now it is some 40 years later and through the magic of the electronic revolution CBC's Lloyd Robertson does the commentary for the race. I watched the spectacular Silver Stakes horses to see my son's daughter, Queen Elizabeth who has been a champion and contributing to the nation's winning chores of long the monarchy undole and alive.

She is a fine, fine woman, doing a magnificent job of being queen, but she is not mine. She belongs to Britain, and they currently need her. Inside is not mine. I live in Canada, with its own few small problems, and what my country does not need is a foreign queen.

I have seen the Quetzal at work. I suspect, somewhat more than most Canadians, I have seen her in a Cardiff suit on the day she made the surprise announcement that her son would be taking over the life insurance business of his father. I have seen her stand single as an ambassador of the Canadian people, temporarily holding out the scepter of God Avor the Prince of Wales, some 40-5000 years reminding his subjects the Rhineland Valley lies in Switzerland, not a close hand at various times in Austria, and I have seen her on the podium, surrounded by medals and sashes, be a pillar of support and voice to the political dissenters of the Quebecois. At last winter's Olympics she flared small flames on her careful, fan-like anguished Memorial cases from little anguished budgets. It is because I have watched her so much, I think, that I solemnly let it go. It is because I have seen her in each perspective that I know that she is not for me. Canadian, card-carrying one.

There are two aspects to all this. The first is essentially one of my housework—not of yours. It is that *Antique*, that delightful, unimpeachable land, was the Roynak for a decade. I suspect that I watched the superbly dressed and incomparably orchestrated flummery of the Silver Jubilee—the Festival of musicology, the sackcloth-and-grass-bags brought to life, every small boy's platoon cavorting moved from his pillow to actual color—by the pastel princesses all the chain-leader interview of a dancing—a

Anyone who has lived in England for some time becomes quickly aware of the vigorous nature of two institutions that seem to serve as touchstones for a reigned working class: the football pitch and the Ray. Its Dreams and Spectacle (bread and circus). The monarchy is Monmouth perceived is a device used to bar revolution—the reason of failure, why the British middle class needs such comfort for it.



There are people Philip—the quantitative branch physicist—at the New Science magazine put it, with his programmed wit, comments to shareholders and factory workers (the peasant Don Rodolfo of our times). As an indication to tomorrow we already have the hand-out-down programmed will-tickets of Prince Charles—guaranteed front-page boxes in the First Street press, the 300-henry conductance of the privileged pretending that they find the unwashed terribly amusing. What is depressing about the English unwashed is that they also find a tailoring—or so they press lately spread

There is further: the celestine law suit of a royal family dedicates it irrevocably to studies slightly below dead counts. The children, as the second generation as much as the first, being chopped around various universities and carrying with not much the slow, maddening velocity into discussion with the houses, set. Was it not Chatterbox who said that the Englishman is not

so much disturbed by the inequality of
things as he is by the inequality of homes?

At the base of it is the fact that the Royals provide the social system for the most destructive force in Britain's class. It is the single most persuasive reason why the action of Europe slides inexorably toward Spain and Yugoslavia in economic terms, the dragged realization by the mass that there is little economic or social mobility, where one's lifetime may become a rock star or soccer star. It is the last configuration where nations or mass trapped, from birth by their actions—prisoners of their tongue, as a Mr G. B. Shaw once put it.

Moving reluctantly to what is my business, I am offended first in their matter of taste. Has there been anything more puerile than the Canadian newspapers' forwarding of Prince Andrew's toilet accessories to his appearance at Luskfield College in the Marlborough School of Rugby? I am also offended that neither the Queen's pharos nor the Queen's motto, "Dieu et Mon Droit," the patron of French-Farwest and the First appear dignified by comparison? (Dear God, I am too old to endure another decade created from page speculation each time another dear-son-prince dies another duchess or daughter of Grace or Lady or...) Is no one else offended by the transparent play of shipping various toilet products to various schools or to the Queen's School of the Americas in transparent endeavours to keep the monarchy interested in the institution?

They are, as they know in their hearts, fighting a losing battle. This country, according to a 1991 census already out of date, has slipped to a figure of just 44.6% of the population of French-ethnic stock. That's down from the 41.9% in 1991. It is not apparent to any reasonable person that the irrational, antibelical cord to a foreign queen remains and will always remain a major irritant in the struggle to keep Quebec within this country? That is reason alone to attack the authoritarianism

The Queen, a magnificent woman as dignified as any man, but she is not true. In truth she is not, I suspect, of supreme importance to the destiny of Canada.

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